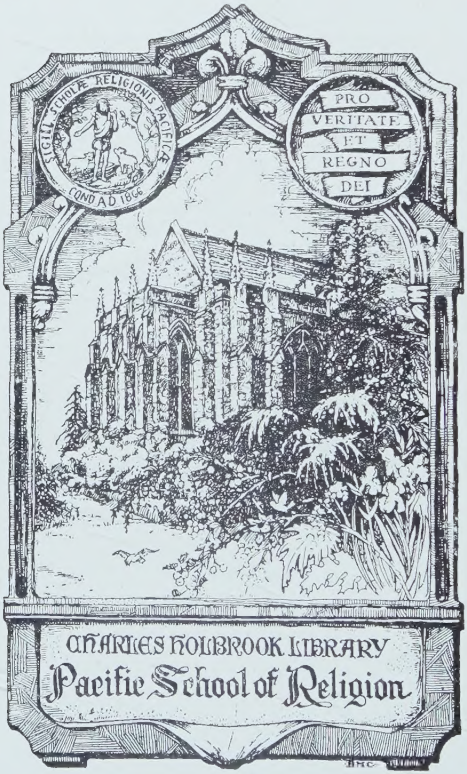

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OF THE

AMERICAN

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AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

LIST OF OFFICERS.

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MAX J. KOHLER, New York;

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Recording Secretary:
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Treasurer:
HENRY S. HENDRICKS, New York.

Curator:
LEON HUHNER, New York.

Additional Members of the Executive Council:

(Term expiring with the 38th Annual Meeting.)
LEE M. FRIEDMAN, Boston, Mass.;
DR. GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT, New York;
HON. JULIAN W. MACK, Chicago, Ill.;
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(Term expiring with the 40th Annual Meeting.)
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PROF. MAX L. MARGOLIS, Philadelphia, Pa.;
PROF. ALEXANDER MARX, New York;

DR. CYRUS ADLER, Philadelphia, Pa.,
ex-officio, as Past President of the Society.

PREFACE.

The preparation and editing of the present volume were entrusted to the following committee on publication: Albert M. Friedenberg, chairman; Prof. Alexander Marx, and Dr. Cyrus Adler. Dr. Rosenbach served *ex-officio* as a member of this committee.

OBJECTS.

The object of this Society is to collect and publish material bearing upon the history of America, and to promote the study of Jewish history in general, preferably so far as the same is related to American Jewish history or connected with the causes of emigration from various parts of the world to this continent. It is known that Jews in Spain and Portugal lent no inconsiderable aid to the voyages that led to the discovery of America, that a few accompanied the earliest discoverers and that Jews were among the first settlers on this continent, and in its adjacent islands. Considerable numbers saw service in the Colonial and Revolutionary wars, some of them with great distinction. Others contributed liberally to the Continental treasury, at critical periods, to aid in the establishment of Independence. Since the foundation of our government, Jews have played an active part in the political affairs of the country, and have been called upon to hold important public positions. The records of the achievements of these men will, when gathered together, prove of value and interest to the historian, and perchance cast light upon some obscure parts of the history of our country.

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THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The thirty-sixth annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society was held at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 531-535 West 123d Street, in the city of New York, in the evening of February 21, and the morning of February 22, 1929 (Washington's Birthday). At the close of the evening session a social hour was provided.

The president, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, was in the chair, and the corresponding secretary, Albert M. Friedenberg, was also the acting recording secretary of the Society. The president's annual address was presented at the evening session.[1]

The officers presented their annual reports. Mr. Friedenberg, corresponding secretary, submitted the following:

I have the honor to present this, my nineteenth annual report as corresponding secretary, which covers the period from November 24, 1927, the date of the thirty-fifth annual meeting of the Society to date. At that time we enjoyed the support of one honorary, twenty-nine corresponding, and four hundred and nine patrons, life and regular members, a total of four hundred and thirty-nine persons. Since then, eleven members died, six resigned and six were dropped for non-payment of dues, a total loss of twenty-three. Twelve new members were duly elected, however, so that our net loss is only eleven. We, therefore, number to-day one honorary, twenty-nine corresponding and three hundred and ninety-eight patrons, life and regular members, a total of four hundred and twenty-eight persons.

Publication No. 31, a volume comprising the customary miscellaneous papers and other material, has just been issued and is now in course of distribution. Work will soon be begun on *Publication* No. 32.

Of the deaths among our members during the year 1928 the following may be mentioned: Joseph Barondess, Harmon W. Hendricks, Henry Jonap, Mark J. Kätz, Meyer Kussy, Max Landsberg, Nathan J. Miller, David Scharps and C. D. Spivak.

[1] See *infra*, p. 1 *et seq.*

Joseph Barondess was a prominent communal worker in New York Jewry. He was for a time a member of the Board of Education of this city, in which capacity he rendered devoted and useful service. Harmon W. Hendricks, active in the mercantile life of New York and head of a firm with an uninterrupted history of nearly two hundred years, indulged a justifiable pride in his heritage. He was interested in the work of this Society although he never actively participated in its meetings.

Henry Jonap was an outstanding member of the Jewish community of Cincinnati, O., and Mark J. Kätz, a lawyer and expert shorthand operator of New York, presented several papers detailing the participation of American Jews in the Spanish-American War, and always maintained a devoted interest in our affairs. Meyer Kussy, a banker and prominent communal worker of Newark, N. J., rendered useful service in making our annual meeting of 1919, held in Newark, a success.

Max Landsberg, distinguished rabbi and Reform leader, served a long and active period as the honored spiritual guide of the Jewish community of Rochester, N. Y. He was an outstanding figure among his colleagues in the American rabbinate. Although not an active participant in our work, he maintained a useful interest in the affairs of the Society.

A true Mæcenas of Jewish learning, the late Nathan J. Miller of New York erected an enduring monument to his name and career through his benefactions to important American Jewish intellectual enterprises. His interest in the affairs of this Society was demonstrated by the circumstance that he was one of its small but conscientious group of patrons. David Scharps was an attorney of the city of New York; those who knew him well describe him as a man of high ideals.

Finally, our fellow-member C. D. Spivak of Denver, Colo., was called to his ultimate reward during the preceding year. He was, in truth, the beloved physician, the devoted and sagacious friend and counselor of a vast company, drawn not merely from the city of his residence but from the entire country. His labors on behalf of Jewry, especially his work with and for those of the House of Israel who were afflicted with what is known as the great white plague, will not soon be forgotten. Besides, he was a firm friend of Jewish learning and his interest in intellectual pursuits embraced the work carried on by this Society.

We sincerely mourn the loss of all these generous friends of the American Jewish Historical Society.

The curator submitted his report.[2]

[2] See p. xxv *et seq.*

As treasurer, Mr. Hendricks presented his report for the fiscal year, October 1, 1927, to October 1, 1928. It was referred to Drs. Lee K. Frankel and George Alexander Kohut, of New York, as a committee of audit, and read as follows:

REPORT OF TREASURER

General Fund

RECEIPTS

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1927	$ 134.84
Dues	2,172.50
Sales of publications	167.85
Refund by Post Office for unused stamped envelopes	.54
Interest	142.02
	$2,617.75

EXPENSES

Disbursements, corresponding secretary's office	$ 822.50
Disbursements, curator's office, including clerical assistance	137.48
Printing, etc., 35th annual meeting	51.50
Clarence S Nathan, Inc., billheads	10.50
Fire insurance premiums	9.21
Exchanges, service charges, National City Bank	1.10
Samuel Oppenheim memorial notices	61.68
Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1928	1,523.78
	$2,617.75

Research Fund

RECEIPTS

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1927	$2,994.05

EXPENSES

Samuel Sussman, Haym Solomon investigation	$ 91.67
Ruth L. Benjamin, photostats	7.80
Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1928	2,894.58
	$2,994.05

Helen C. Rosendale Memorial Fund

RECEIPTS

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1927	$1,147.18
Interest	52.48
	$1,199.66

STATEMENT OF ASSETS OF THE SOCIETY

Research Fund	$2,894.58
General Fund	1,523.78
Helen C. Rosendale Memorial Fund	1,199.66
	$5,618.02

Prof. Israel Davidson, Henry Necarsulmer, and Rev. Dr. D. de Sola Pool, all of New York, were appointed by the chair a committee to nominate officers and additional members of the executive council of the Society. On their report the following were unanimously elected:

President, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, Philadelphia, Pa.; vice-presidents, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Albany, N. Y.; Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil, New York; Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Cincinnati, O.; Capt. N. Taylor Phillips, and Max J. Kohler; corresponding secretary, Albert M. Friedenberg, all of New York; recording secretary, Rev. Dr. Abraham A. Neuman, Philadelphia, Pa.; treasurer, Henry S. Hendricks; curator, Leon Huhner, both of New York. Additional members of the executive council (for a term of three years, expiring with the thirty-ninth annual meeting of the Society): Rabbi Henry Cohen, Galveston, Texas; Morris Wolf, Philadelphia, Pa.; Prof. Salo Baron, and Lewis L. Strauss, Jr., both of New York.

Besides the memorial remarks of deceased members (in the corresponding secretary's report), the following necrologies were read:

Isaac Markens, by Max J. Kohler; Samuel Oppenheim, by Leon Huhner.

The following papers were read:

"The Dutch Archives, with particular reference to American Jewish history," by Rabbi Herbert I. Bloom.

"A Description of the Records of the Congregation Mikve Israel of Philadelphia," by Rev. Dr. Abraham A. Neuman.

"The First Hebrew and English Prayer-Book Printed in the United States," by Rev. Dr. D. de Sola Pool.

"The National State and the Jew," by Prof. Salo Baron.

"A Celebrated Case among the Italian Jews of the Early Sixteenth Century," by Prof. Alexander Marx.

"The de la Penha Family and Its Labrador Grants," by Lee M. Friedman.

"The Jewish Women of the German Salons," by Mrs. Bessie London Pouzzner.

"Memoir of Marcus Otterbourg, United States Minister to Mexico in 1867," by Miss Ruth L. Benjamin.

"Early English Efforts for Reformation of the Hebrew Calendar," by Dr. Wilberforce Eames.

"Historical Outline of Anti-Semitism in the United States," by Max J. Kohler.

"The Classis of Pernambuco and the Jews," by Sigmund Seeligmann.

"An Episode in the Jewish Colonization of Guiana, 1660," by Jacob Zwarts.

"Hasidism, a Revolt of the Masses," by Prof. Solomon Zeitlin.

"Music in the American Reform Synagogue," by Prof. A. Z. Idelsohn.

(1) "Some Early Relations between Palestine and American Jewry"; (2) "A Note on the Early History of the Touro Synagogue in New Orleans"; (3) "What We Learn from the Tombstones in the New Bowery Cemetery," by Rev. Dr. D. de Sola Pool.

The following papers were read by title:

"The First Hebrew Periodical in America," by Dr. Joshua Bloch.

(1) "Four Early Jewish Cemeteries at Baltimore"; (2) "The Refusal of a Charter to the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation by the Legislature of Maryland"; (3) "Captain John Smith's Reference to a Jew," by Benjamin H. Hartogensis.

"The Jews of Barbados before 1776 and Their Commercial Connections," by Max J. Kohler.

(1) "Solomon Roubin, Cataloguer of the Sutro Hebrew MSS. in the San Francisco Public Library"; (2) "The Cornerstone Box of the Old Temple Emanu-El of San Fran-

cisco; New Light on Pacific Coast Jewry, 1849-1864," by Rev. Dr. Louis I. Newman.

"How Economic Freedom Came to the Jews in Switzerland," by Solomon M. Stroock.

On motion, the thanks of the Society were voted to the directors of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, and to the members of the committee on local arrangements for this meeting, for their courtesy and hospitality.

THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The thirty-seventh annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society was held at the meeting-house of the Congregation Adath Israel, corner of Longwood Avenue and Plymouth Street, in the city of Boston, commonwealth of Massachusetts, in the evening of June 7, and the morning of June 8, 1930. At the close of the evening session a social hour was provided.

The president, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, was in the chair, and the corresponding secretary, Albert M. Friedenberg, was also the acting recording secretary of the Society. The president's annual address was presented at the evening session.

The officers presented their annual reports, Mr. Friedenberg, corresponding secretary, submitted the following:

My report as corresponding secretary covers the period, February 22, 1929, the date of the thirty-sixth annual meeting of the Society, to June 7, 1930.

On the former date our membership totaled 428 persons, one honorary, 29 corresponding and 398 patrons, life and regular members. Since then, one honorary and 15 regular members died, while six regular members resigned. On the other hand, one life and five regular members were elected and a former member was reinstated. So, to-day, the membership of the Society totals 413 persons, 29 corresponding and 384 patrons, life and regular members.

Publication No. 32, a volume of miscellaneous papers, notes and reports, is now in galley proof and will be brought to completion as speedily as possible. If our plans mature, we expect to issue in the immediate future a volume, No. 33, the issuance of which has been authorized by the executive council and which is to consist of an important historical work by Max J. Kohler.

Since the presentation of my previous report the Society was called upon to mourn the loss of many friends and supporters. A

word or two, in appreciation of their lifework, may not be inappropriate.

William Howard Taft, former President and late Chief Justice of the United States, was the only honorary member of the Society at his death. While he was in the White House the Congress formally voted to abrogate the treaty of 1832 between this country and Russia because, under it, American citizens of the Jewish faith were not permitted to enter Russia. In an address before the National Geographic Society on the subject of the Jews, William Howard Taft gave expression to sentiments which reflect a high degree of friendship for and appreciation of the Jewish people. The Society possesses the original MS. of this address, the gift of its author.

Corinne B. Arnold was a loved figure of Philadelphia Jewry and took a deep interest in all work designed to foster the education of Jews. Emile Berliner, of Washington, filled a large niche in the application of science to commercial enterprise and, withal, sturdily upheld all good Jewish causes. David A. Ellis, of Boston, was an attorney of standing at the Massachusetts bar; he was, for a time, a director of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

An active contributor to all phases of Jewish philanthropic and educational work was the late Abraham Erlanger, a prominent merchant of New York City. Carried on our rolls as a member for many years, he showed his abiding interest in the work of the Society by incorporating a provision in his last will and testament, whereby the sum of $2,500 is bequeathed to this Society. The executive council has voted to earmark such publications as are made possible by this gift with the name of the testator. The money is, by the will, restricted to our important activity of publication.

Abe Feist, of Newark, N. J., and Henry Fernberger, of Philadelphia, the latter long an officer of the Jewish Publication Society of America, were esteemed for their communal spirit. Felix Fuld, of Newark, N. J., was an outstanding leader, not merely among his fellow-townsmen of all creeds, but throughout every Jewish community in the land. His Jewish interests were all-embracing and his benefactions munificent. American Jewry is markedly the poorer for his passing.

Samuel D. Lit, of Philadelphia, filled a large place in the communal life of the city. David A. Lourie, of Boston, served acceptably on the bench of the superior judicial court of Massachusetts. Jacob Mark, of Brooklyn, N. Y., was a notable figure to many in his community. Louis Marshall, of New York City, by common consent was rightly regarded as the leader of American Jewry and, as such,

loomed large in Jewish affairs throughout the world. His loss will long be felt and forever deplored. Louis A. Mischkind, called to his eternal home at a comparatively early age, was a rabbi of parts, an esteemed graduate of the Hebrew Union College.

Edgar J. Nathan, of New York, was not simply a lawyer of worth and learning. He was deeply interested in fostering Jewish interests of value, and proud of his intellectual and religious heritage. His demise robbed us of an earnest, interested and qualified supporter. Benjamin Ripin and Moritz Roos, both of New York City, were favorably regarded in the circles of their friends and neighbors.

The final name on our roll is that of J. Bunford Samuel, of Philadelphia, many years ago for a brief interval an additional member of the executive council of the Society but throughout his long life a firm supporter of our work. In fact, history was his avocation and a number of useful writings of a Jewish historical interest claimed him for their author. He contributed several important paintings to our collections.

We sincerely regret the loss of all these supporters of the work of the American Jewish Historical Society.

The curator submitted his report.[1]

As treasurer, Mr. Hendricks presented his report for the fiscal year, October 1, 1928, to October 1, 1929. It was referred to Drs. Lee K. Frankel and George Alexander Kohut, of New York, as a committee of audit, and read as follows:

REPORT OF TREASURER

General Fund

RECEIPTS

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1928	$1,523.78
Dues	2,080.00
Sales of publications	102.18
Interest	180.27
Donation of rare pamphlet on Jews in Switzerland	4.00
	$3,890.23

[1] See p. xxvii *et seq.*

EXPENSES

Disbursements, corresponding secretary's office	$692.00
Disbursements, curator's office, including clerical assistance	344.03
Envelopes and letterheads	43.25
Printing, etc., 36th annual meeting	38.25
Fire insurance premiums	9.21
Printing and distributing *Publication* No. 31	1,884.81
Purchase of papers of Samuel Oppenheim, deceased	250.00
Exchanges, service charges, National City Bank	7.20
Interest credited erroneously July, 1928, corrected October, 1928	5.00
Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1929	616.48
	$3,890.23

Research Fund

RECEIPTS

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1928	$2,894.58
Anonymous donation	25.00
	$2,919.58

EXPENSES

G. R. G. Conway, research in Mexico City	$291.61
Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1929	2,627.97
	$2,919.58

Helen C. Rosendale Memorial Fund

RECEIPTS

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1928	$1,199.66
Interest	49.74
	$1,249.40

EXPENSES

Hannah London Siegel, subsidy	$150.00
Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1929	1,099.40
	$1,249.40

STATEMENT OF ASSETS OF THE SOCIETY

Research Fund	$2,627.97
General Fund	616.48
Helen C. Rosendale Memorial Fund	1,099.40
	$4,343.85

Rabbi Harry Levi and Lee M. Friedman, of Boston, Mass., and G. Herbert Cone, of Albany, N. Y., were appointed a committee to nominate officers and additional members of the executive council of the Society by the chair. On their report the following were unanimously elected:

President, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, Philadelphia, Pa.; vice-presidents, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Albany, N. Y.; Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil, New York; Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Cincinnati, O.; Capt. N. Taylor Phillips, and Max J. Kohler; corresponding secretary, Albert M. Friedenberg, all of New York; recording secretary, Rev. Dr. Abraham A. Neuman, Philadelphia, Pa.; treasurer, Henry S. Hendricks; curator, Leon Huhner, both of New York, Additional members of the executive council (for a term of three years, expiring with the fortieth annual meeting of the Society): Louis Bamberger, Newark, N. J.; Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, Washington, D. C.; Prof. Max L. Margolis, Philadelphia, Pa.; Prof. Alexander Marx, New York.

The following papers were read:

(1) "Jewish Residents in Massachusetts before 1800"; (2) "President Roosevelt and the Abrogation of the Russian Treaty of 1832," by Lee M. Friedman.

"Aaron Lopez, Colonial Merchant," by Bruce Macmillan Bigelow.

"History of the Congregation Ohabei Shalom," by Abraham P. Spitz.

"The Abrogation of the Russian-American Treaty of 1832 and the Drafting of the Treaties of 1919 for Protecting Religious and Racial Minorities," by Max J. Kohler.

"A Note on Jacob Henriques, of London," by Dr. Boaz Cohen.

"Saul Brown, the First Hazan in North America, and Benjamin Wolf, the Third Recorded Hazan," by Rev. Dr. D. deSola Pool.

"Early American Jewish Portraits," by Mrs. Hannah London Siegel.

"Jews in the history of Columbia University," by Leon Huhner.

"Abraham Phillips, U. S. N.," by Henry A. Alexander.

"A Hessian Tax-roll of 1811," by Emil Frenkel.

"Benjamin S. Pouzzner," by Mrs. Bessie London Pouzzner.

"The Jews of Portugal and Brazil," by Jacob Nachbin.

"The Synagogue in the Wilderness," by Mrs. Zelda F. Popkin.

"Material relating to the Mexican Inquisition, and the Jews of Barbados," by Alfonso Cassuto.

"Gertrude Stein, Modernist, her career and influence," by Miss Blanche London.

"Was a Civil Marriage ever recognized by Jewish Law," by Rabbi David B. Swiren.

On motion, the thanks of the Society were voted to the trustees and the sisterhood of Congregation Adath Israel, for their courtesy and hospitality.

DEDICATION OF THE NEW ROOMS OF THE SOCIETY, OCTOBER 19, 1930.

The library building, Jacob H. Schiff memorial, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, at the northeast corner of Broadway and 122nd Street, in the city of New York, was formally dedicated, October 19, 1930. For an entire week thereafter the Rosenbach collection of Americana, presented to the Society by the president, was exhibited in the Society's new exhibition room; the collection was visited by hundreds of persons.

At the dedicatory exercises of the library building Dr. Cyrus Adler, past president of the Society, presided. Prof. Alexander Marx, an additional member of the executive council of the Society, delivered an address, in the course of which he heartily welcomed the Society to its occupancy of the three rooms in the building, assigned to its use.

The following address was delivered by the president, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, on this occasion:

Today, the 19th of October, 1930, is a most auspicious day in the history of the American Jewish Historical Society. It is the culmination of thirty-eight years of earnest work. The formal opening of the new rooms in this building, which will contain our library and historical collections, is the realization of the fondest hopes of the founders of the Society.

The American Jewish Historical Society was organized in New York, June 7, 1892, pursuant to a call made by the beloved past president of the Society, Dr. Cyrus Adler, to whom on this happy occasion we extend our sincerest congratulations.

The meeting at which this project was launched was, strangely enough, held in the old building of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, then located at 736 Lexington Avenue. The American Jewish Historical Society will now be permanently located in the

magnificent Jacob H. Schiff memorial library building, which has the distinction of housing the greatest Jewish library in the world.

The American Jewish Historical Society owes a deep debt of gratitude to the president and directors of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America for their generosity in placing at our disposal three rooms, two of which will contain our collections, and an exhibition room, in which, from time to time, will be displayed the great historical documents, literary manuscripts, portraits, old silver and furniture, which have been accumulated by, or donated to, the Society during the thirty-eight years of its existence. It is only keeping faith with those who have so graciously allotted us these rooms, to see that they are made use of in a useful and proper manner. It is to be hoped that our new quarters will not be a mere tomb where treasures are locked up until the trump of doom, but that all of them will be made now readily available to students and scholars. No assemblage of books or of manuscripts is of use to the world, unless something enduring is extracted from them. They are mines of information, awaiting the spade of the investigator, and it is the province of the scholar to take from them the unknown facts of history now embedded in their depths.

Although the Society has published thirty-one notable *Publications*, which is a creditable performance, we have not extracted the ore even from our own archives, and we have sufficient material in our own collections to make some hundreds more.

Although the dream has been realized in finding a permanent home for our collections, our other dream is still to be fulfilled: the making of a definitive history of the Jews in America. In order to do this the original sources of our history must be impartially studied. The early and late records must be critically examined before such an undertaking is at all possible. We must delve more understandingly into the older archives.

Through our publication and printing fund, the newest discoveries in history will be made accessible to scholars. Through our research fund, transcripts of original papers in other archives will be made available, such as we are doing now in the National Library of Mexico.

Our Society has a large and interesting field to cover. It begins with the history of the Jews in Europe just before the departure of Columbus in the summer of 1492. There is a rich and colorful background to the intrepid adventurers who sailed with Columbus, with Vespucci, with stout Cortez, and magnificent Pizarro. People of the Jewish faith were among the first to set foot on the American continent, and for over four hundred years they have striven, fought and bled with their brethren in this land.

We have already uncovered much new information on the first settlements made in the West Indies, along the Amazon, the story of the men who traded on the Hudson and Delaware Rivers, and who witnessed the beginnings of New York and Philadelphia. We have found new material relating to the sturdy pioneers who ventured into the unknown Western country, and who were present at the humble origins of St. Louis, and Chicago. We have striven to portray the activities of the people of our faith in the French and Indian War, in the conflicts with Great Britain, in the Civil War, and in the Great War. Year by year, step by step, we are trying to secure new historical evidence so that we can some day set forth a complete narrative of the Jews in the Western hemisphere from the discovery of America until the present time.

Not only must we collect material in a systematic manner of the past, but it is necessary to marshal the records of our own time, of our own day, which will be invaluable in the years to come, and will prove just as interesting to the reader of the future as the exploration, the colonial or the revolutionary period is to us.

In accordance with the new programme of expansion, the Society will have its own librarian who will, it is hoped, not be a mere cataloguer but, with historical knowledge and insight, be able to inspire and encourage students, and who will be the true helpmate of the investigator. So important do we consider the study of American Jewish history, now and in the future, that it is hoped within a short period that fellowships in this field will be established in the universities and other institutions of learning and, in the course of time, that professorships will be created and endowed.

Now that we are in this beautiful building, in the new era that is opening for us, we must resolve to bend our best efforts to the realization of our aims. We must consider, as a sacred heritage, the many precious things that have been entrusted to our care. It is now our duty to make known to the world, in a simple and exact fashion, the deeds of our forefathers in this country. It is only our duty to the devoted founders of the American Jewish Historical Society to see that their ideas and ideals are carried on, so that, in the fulness of time, a definitive and true picture may be presented of the story of the Jews in America.

REPORTS OF LEON HUHNER, CURATOR.

Since my last report in November, 1927, our collections have been increased by 52 volumes, 72 pamphlets, and 40 periodicals. We now have 2530 bound volumes, 3433 pamphlets, besides a substantial collection of periodicals, pictures, and various objects of Jewish interest.

Among the more important purchases were several Dutch works relating to the settlement of Jews in Amsterdam, Holland, Surinam, and other Dutch settlements, Gallois' history of the Inquisition; the elaborate work on Abraham Abrahamson, a famous German medallist during the eighteenth century; Haring's work on trade and navigation, and See's modern capitalism.

Among the gifts, we note particularly that of Hyman L. Meites, his elaborate history of the Jews of Chicago, which we obtained through the courtesy of Julius and Lessing J. Rosenwald; a painting of Col. Isaac Franks, the gift of Clarence Lewis through the courtesy of Louis Marshall, and Dr. Adler's biography of Jacob H. Schiff, and the privately printed diary of Mr. Schiff of his visit to Japan, the gift of Mrs. Jacob H. Schiff, and a rare pamphlet relating to the emancipation of the Jews in Switzerland, the gift of Sol. M. Stroock.

Additional gifts were as follows:

G. R. G. Conway, An Englishman and the Mexican Inquisition.

Philip Cowen, Prejudice against the Jew.

Miss Helen I. Davis, photostats of items relating to Bernard Hart.

Funk & Wagnalls Co. (through the courtesy of Mrs. N. Taylor Phillips), electrotype plates of the letter of the Newport Congregation to Washington, and of Washington's reply.

The Free Synagogue, Free Synagague Pulpit, five volumes, as well as several of Dr. Stephen S. Wise's sermons in pamphlet form.

German American Historical Society of Illinois, German American history (1901).

Mrs. Arthur Guiterman, photograph of painting of High Constable Jacob Hays which hangs in the chamber of the Board of Aldermen of New York City.

Emanuel Hertz, portrait of President Johnson, and his original autograph order, permitting a package to be delivered to Senator Yulee; Barrett's life of Lincoln two volumes, and Thayer's life of Hay, two volumes, both with authors' autograph; several addresses and pamphlets by Mr. Hertz relating to Lincoln; portrait of Judah P. Benjamin, as well as numbers of a new periodical, *Ha-Lapid,* published in Spain.

Leon Huhner, eight books and 22 pamphlets, as well as a collection of newspaper clippings of Jewish interest, taken from various papers since my last report.

Jewish Institute of Religion, Sperry's Liberalism in Contemporary Religion; Margolis' Oriental Research in Palestine; Rosenau's Call for Readjustment; Jewish Studies in Memory of Israel Abrahams; Abrahams' Permanent Values in Judaism; The Glory of God, by Israel Abrahams; Herford's Pirke Aboth; an almost complete file of the four volumes of the Jewish Institute Quarterly.

Lewis M. Isaacs, "Records of My Family" by Israel Solomon, privately printed, 1887.

Hon. Samuel Kalisch, "Studies in Ancient and Modern Judaism," by Isidore Kalisch.

Max J. Kohler, Henriques on Jewish Marriages; Rule's History of the Inquisition, vol. ii; Kayserling on Ritual Slaughtering; Justice for the Russian Jew; Hexter's Jews in Mexico.

Louis Marshall, reports of Joint Palestine Survey Commission, and report of the experts.

Henry Necarsulmer, souvenir of anniversary of Harmonic Club.

New Palestine Book Service, "The collected writings of Louis Lipsky."

Adolph S. Ochs, jubilee souvenir.

Mrs. Alice I. Popper, two MS. volumes of minute books of Purim Association, 1872-1906.

Sol. B. Solomon, original minute book of Purim Association, through the courtesy of Adam Frank.

Mrs. Flora Spiegelberg, account of her reminiscences in New Mexico.

Dr. B. W. Weinberger, "Semi-Centennial of New York Academy of Medicine."

In addition we have received, as usual, the publications of the various historical societies on our exchange list, as well as the periodical issued by the B'nai B'rith.

Your curator also desires to report, that immediately after the death of Samuel Oppenheim, he arranged with the family of the deceased to preserve all his correspondence relating to Jewish history, as well as his notebooks, notes, and photostats, so that these could be acquired by our Society. Mr. Oppenheim's labors covered a very large field, and your curator is glad to report that he has obtained for the Society the material mentioned, contained in four large cases, as well as a package of negatives. Besides a large collection of photostats of documents and data secured from various archives by Mr. Oppenheim for the Society, we have thus obtained Mr. Oppenheim's original notebooks and transcripts, as well as some of his unfinished articles. A cursory examination of this material shows that it relates mainly to early Jewish settlement in Brazil, in the Dutch Indies, and to a very large degree to the early history of the Jews in New York, as well as to the career of Haym Salomon. This collection will, when properly classified and made available, be a very important storehouse for the future historian. Your curator has also arranged with Mr. Oppenheim's family to keep his library intact for the present, so that the Society may purchase therefrom such items as would be of interest to our work.

Dated February, 1929.

Since our meeting in February, 1929, there have been added to our collections 162 printed volumes, 143 pamphlets and 38 periodicals. We have now 2692 bound volumes, 3576 pamphlets, besides our collection of periodicals, pictures, autographs and other objects of Jewish interest.

Among the more important purchases were the following:

Guide to the West Indian archives; the memoirs of Lorenzo da Ponte, and a biography of him, three volumes; a number of items in connection with the Mendelssohn celebration; Baer on the Jews in Christian Spain; Cohn-Wiener's work on Jews in art; Causon's

history of the Inquisition in France; Breckenridge's address on the Jew bill in Maryland, published in Germany in 1820; autograph letter of Sir Julius Benedict regarding his opera, Rose of Killarney; "Studies in Memory of Abraham S. Freidus;" books from the collections of the late Samuel Oppenheim.

We have been fortunate in receiving quite a number of gifts since the previous meeting, and our thanks are due to the following for items of special interest:

Louis Bamberger: original oil painting of Rebecca Gratz by Thomas Sully; Dr. Walter M. Brickner: circumcision set which formerly belonged to the Sheftall family of Georgia; Rev. Dr. Henry Cohen: book of prayers for those intending to live in America, published at Fürth, 1855; Misses Ethel and Helen Hendricks: photographs of paintings of Phila Franks and Mrs. Jacob Franks, from the originals belonging to Mrs. Beatrice Phillips; Max J. Kohler: photograph of David Einhorn's bust at Temple Emanu-El; Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach: MS. biography and papers of Joseph B. Nones; Mrs. Willy Spiegelberg: pewter Passover plate, which belonged to her family for several generations, and several small souvenirs of the donor's trip to Jerusalem in 1906.

Other gifts were as follows:

Dr. Willy Cohn: Das Zeitalter der Hohenstaufen in Sizilien; Congregation Bnai Jeshurun: souvenir placque, and literature in connection with its centenary; Congregation Rodeph Shalom, of Philadelphia: history of the congregation; Rev. L. I. Egelson: tracts published by Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and a volume of its annals; Rev. Dr. Israel Goldstein: problems of the Jewish Ministry; Mrs. Louise S. Hendricks: photograph of tablet in memory of Haym Salomon in Philadelphia cemetery; and 18 bound volumes; Benjamin H. Hartogensis: essays by the donor which appeared in the *Jewish Times;* MSS. by the donor; Leon Huhner: 40 volumes, 35 pamphlets, and newspaper clippings; Max J. Kohler: 14 volumes and 36 pamphlets; Mrs. K. Kohler: poems of Minna Kleeberg; Albert R. Lesinsky: letters of Henry Lesinsky to his son, through Max J. Kohler; Mrs. Leo Mielziner: Hebrew MS. pedigree of the Mielziner family; copy of temporary injunction, 1865, enjoining altering service of Congregation Anshe Chesed; extract from minutes of congregation, 1866-1874, in regard to Moses Mielziner's Reform activities; Mr. and Mrs. E. Mamelsdorf: collection of numbers of *Révue des Études Juives* through Max J. Kohler; Mrs. Clarence S. Nathan, and Edgar J. Nathan, Jr.: old deeds, mortgages and ab-

stracts, inventories, etc., 1803-1868, from the estates of various members of the Gomez, Isaacs and Hendricks family; Captain N. Taylor Phillips: 9 pamphlets and 3 volumes of Tompkins papers; Arthur Hays Sulzberger: dictionary of American biography.

Since my previous report all the Oppenheim material was received. A committee was thereupon appointed, consisting of your curator, Dr. George Alexander Kohut, Prof. Alexander Marx, and Albert M. Friedenberg, to examine this material.

The committee held a meeting, April 7, 1929.

Dated June, 1930.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.[1]

By A. S. W. Rosenbach, Ph.D., F.A.D.

The present vogue for reading and writing biographies of famous men is of so contagious a character that the historian, if he is engaged in this field, must needs find new names to conjure with. Almost all great men in the annals of history have had their deeds, and incidentally their misdeeds, set forth so that posterity may judge them. We have been inundated, but not as yet submerged, by lives of Napoleon, Shelley, Dickens, and Disraeli. If Plutarch were alive today he would be the world's best seller.

The lessons of life and of experience are not necessarily gleaned from the biographies of the greatest men, or even of the near-great. People who have never made their mark in the world are often more interesting than those have had the ears of kings and princes. For instance, many who have contributed to the making of the United States are now unsung and unknown. It was not Columbus, Vespucci, Captain John Smith, Washington, Jefferson or Lincoln who alone made that conglomerate mass that is known as the United States. The lesser-known men had their share in the making; and if their deeds were fittingly chronicled it would make fascinating reading.

We cannot, however, record the lives of men unless we have original documents, the mileposts that show the way, like so many beacons, to the historian. He must have at his hand autograph letters, diplomas, legal certificates, newspapers, magazines, clippings—in fact, the tangible things that sometimes miraculously survive, to be of help to the biographer.

[1] Delivered at the thirty-sixth annual meeting, New York, February 21, 1929.

It is easy to gather material concerning men like Washington and Lincoln. We naturally keep the mementoes of people famous in their age—only a member of the President's own family would throw one of his letters away! It is the documents of smaller fry that are most difficult of access, and it is for this reason that a real estate deed of Button Gwinnett, the ill-fated Signer from Georgia, is worth far more than a full autograph letter of Thomas Jefferson.

The time is fast approaching when biographies of the men and women of our own race and people, who helped in the formation of this country, will have to be written. The lives, not only of the early Jewish settlers, the first merchants, the early ministers, the original inhabitants of the colonies, must be recorded; but of the people of our own time, the people that we know, and love, and sometimes hate—the facts of their existence must also be faithfully set down. Everyone has not trunkfulls of letters and family documents, but almost everyone has somewhere some written things that some day will prove of value. The extensive use made of letters, telegrams and similar material by the modern biographer necessitates their preservation. He recognizes that there is nothing so self-revealing as an autograph letter, nothing that brings out the character so much as the written word. It is for this reason that some wise men write as few letters as possible. It is on this account that I urge upon everyone who has letters of Jewish interest to keep them carefully, zealously to guard and preserve them.

The American Jewish Historical Society will soon be housed in a fireproof building with every facility for the preservation of its archives. It will be the great depository in this country for everything relating to the history of Jews on the American continent. If you have documents of historical value, the Society will offer the natural place for them to be kept. In case you have letters of a personal nature, things that it is not necessary to reveal to the present generation, they can be

sealed for a definite number of years, to be opened when the chief actors are no longer alive.

The forthcoming publication, edited by Rev. Dr. David Philipson, of the letters of Rebecca Gratz, is an indication of the value of correspondence to the historian. Miss Gratz had an influence upon her generation. She was the founder of the first Hebrew Sunday School in this country. She came of a family that had been distinguished from the middle of the eighteenth century. These letters give a truer picture of Jewish life in the period preceding the Civil War, than can at the present time be had from any other source. We have already in the archives of our Society other letters of early American worthies, that should be edited and published. There are many similar documents preserved in the archives of the various historical societies and libraries of this country, which should be copied and kept for the future use of the biographer.

The life of Gershom Mendez Seixas, the famous minister of the Congregation Shearith Israel, should be written. Those two eminent divines of Philadelphia, Isaac Leeser and Sabato Morais, have received scant attention from the historian. They, also, had great influence upon their time and generation. Their letters would reveal hitherto unknown facts about themselves and their contemporaries. A biography of each is sorely needed. A fascinating subject would be Mordecai M. Noah, journalist, diplomat and dreamer. The lives of literary men such as Isaac Harby and Samuel B. H. Judah should be given to the public. The biography of Abraham Hart, the friend of Thackeray and Thomas Carlyle, has yet to be written. I could go on almost indefinitely, giving the names of men and women who would prove good subjects for the conscientious biographer. I am glad to state that two of our own members, long delvers in the field of American Jewish history, are now at work on biographies.

Mr. Leon Huhner is writing the life of Judah Touro; and Mr. Max J. Kohler that of Baron de Hirsch, both to be issued by the Jewish Publication Society of America. They will be awaited with the greatest interest. Dr. Harold Korn has just discovered the autobiography and reminiscences of Joseph B. Nones, who was born in Philadelphia, February 15, 1797, and who ninety years later sat down and wrote his memoirs. Dr. Korn has promised to present a paper on Nones at the next annual meeting of our Society. The original manuscript has been purchased and presented to the American Jewish Historical Society for preservation in our collections. Mrs. Helen Kohn Hennig has written a biography of Edwin DeLeon of South Carolina (1818-1891), who took an active part on the Confederate side in the Civil War.

It is to be hoped that the new contributions to American biography will not be along the lines of the ones that are talked of so much in the world today. An author sits down to his desk and in a few months gives us an intimate picture of his subject, graphically portrayed and painted to the life. The inmost thoughts of his hero are set down, his intricate and elusive imaginings that even the subject himself could not capture, are described for our delectation. Even the fleeting thoughts that ran through the mind of Queen Victoria, as she lay on her deathbed, have been described by an eminent critic. To creep into the brain of a dying person is a firstrate achievement. It is even a greater feat than William Blake's drawing of the ghost of a flea. All this is most interesting and makes absorbing reading, but it is not history. Most of the biography today is so much pap, served up in an appetizing way with plenty of paprika to please the palates of tired business men and idle women. In order to provide the spice and condiment, love-letters that formerly were read only in a divorce-court, have been miraculously uncovered from the debris of time and set forth in the brilliant manner and with the gusto of the modern historian. In order to have

the work appear on time, so as not to disappoint the anxious public, only published works are, as a rule, consulted. MS. material is generally left severely alone, although occasionally love-epistles that have been zealously preserved in family vaults, are unearthed and published.

It is true that these modern Plutarchs serve a useful purpose. People that ordinarily would not read historical narratives, or the lives of eminent persons, are now doing so. They enjoy the porridge that is so deftly served up to them. It is likewise true that the authors of these up-to-the-minute biographies do not claim much for them. They desire to give a critical and analytical view of the subject of their memoir, to dissect his thoughts, his aspirations, his motives. But to do this it is necessary to have more than a knowledge of secondhand sources. It is necessary to go to the very foundations—the original documents on which history is based. To do this a year, or even ten, is often necessary. Gibbon worked for many decades before he published his first volume. James Boswell, who wrote probably the finest biography ever penned, gathered material for thirty-five years before he dared give to the world his immortal life of Dr. Samuel Johnson. Not only is it a true portrait, in its proper colors, of the great lexicographer, but it is the finest picture we have of England in the eighteenth century. He also used letters of Dr. Johnson in this great biography, not mere scraps, as his modern imitators are wont to do, but lengthy extracts that reveal, more than the magic words of Boswell, the character of Samuel Johnson. Some of our American historians, like John Bach McMaster and J. Franklin Jameson, would not stoop to do the things practiced by the new school of critical biographers; they are made of sterner stuff—as their writings indicate.

There has recently appeared an example of American Jewish biography that is a model of its kind. It is based on earnest work. It is written with meticulous care, and shows remarkable restraint, so necessary for the historian. I refer

to Dr. Cyrus Adler's " Jacob H. Schiff, His Life and Letters." Like Boswell, Dr. Adler knew and loved the subject of his memoir. It was perhaps this friendship with Mr. Schiff that made the writing of it more difficult. The two volumes of this biography give for all time a living delineation of life in America during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth. It is not only an invaluable contribution to history in general, but it is the finest example we have of American Jewish biography.

The present generation has been taught to read biography, just as in past ages one read of the exploits of Sir Francis Drake, the soul-stirring battles with the Indians of Captain John Smith, the mighty adventures of Sir Henry Morgan of the Spanish Main. These old narratives, too, were spiced with fiction, and wonderful stories were created around half mythical characters, so that Pocahontas became almost as famous a figure as Captain John himself. The inventions of the older historians were mighty ones, blatant and attractive, quite unlike the feeble imitations of the moderns. It was one of our own biographers, American bred, who deserves full credit for the most seductive fiction ever woven about one of our great men. Naturally enough, it sprang from the imaginative brain of a clergyman, the Rev. Mason L. Weems. His story of Washington and the cherry tree deserves a special niche in history. It will be told as long as Washington is known; and Washington and the story of the cherry tree are immortal. If the modern critical biographers can create fiction as good as this, by all means let them do it! But call it by its right name, which is an honored one, but not history.

Let us have veritable, simple and unvarnished narratives of the men who have contributed to the greatness of America. Let us delve into the facts of their lives and prepare suitable biographies, without ostentation, without flourishes, without too much display of fancy. Let us gather the material while yet we may, for it is upon the actual foundations of truth that history must be written.

THE DUTCH ARCHIVES, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY.

By Rabbi Herbert I. Bloom, M.H.L.

After consulting all the printed material at my disposal in the preparation of a book on "The economic activity of the Jews of Amsterdam in the seventeenth and the eighteenth century," all that was left for me was to refer to the archives in Holland. In a general way I understood that there was a mass of material on Dutch Jewish history to be consulted and, since my time was limited, one of my most difficult tasks was to ascertain just where to look for the desired material.

In the course of my researches in America I had come to the conclusion that the economic activity of the Amsterdam Jews in the seventeenth and eighteenth century had been grossly overestimated both by contemporaries of the age under consideration and by later critics and students of the period.[1] I hoped to determine the truth or fallacy of my contention and to arrive at accurate conclusions about Amsterdam Jewish economic activity by means of the unpublished documents to be found in the Dutch archives.

Because of my desire to gather facts about the economic aspect and problems of Amsterdam Jewry my emphasis was of necessity onesided, but the more I worked in the Dutch archives the more I realized the tremendous wealth of material pertinent to Jewish history in general, to Dutch Jewish history in particular, and, not the least, to American Jewish history.

This paper proposes to be only an indication of the possibilities for Jewish historical studies in the archives of Hol-

[1] Wagenaar, Le Long, for later students Koenen, Da Costa and more especially Sombart.

land, with a few illustrations of interest to American Jewish history. So vast a mine of untouched material demands the painstaking scholarship and time of Jewish historians.

As I could only remain in Holland from June until September, 1928, time permitted me barely to scratch the surface of the material to be consulted. I first referred to the *Rijksarchief* (government archives) at The Hague, where the books and papers of the East and West India Companies are to be found, besides the archives of the various colonies, more especially those of Surinam which have been transported to The Hague *in toto.*

After consulting with Dr. Japikse [2] and Dr. Bijlsma of the *Rijksarchief* I determined to work at the *Notarieele Archieven* (notarial archives), Amsterdam. These archives are made up of notaries' documents formerly in the possession of the descendants of their authors. The government, realizing the historic importance of these documents, collected them in each province and housed them in suitable quarters usually in the archives buildings of the capitals of the respective provinces. Very few of the documents are indexed. There is such a great number of these in Amsterdam that they occupy four stories of the *Stedelijk Archief* (city archives) building. Many of them are not yet arranged and most have not been consulted for historical research. I am convinced that they are one of the chief sources for the study of Dutch Jewish history, not to speak of their importance for the history of the Dutch colonies in America. In the course of this paper I shall draw from some of the documents which may be of special interest to this Society.

In the hope of finding some material germane to my subject in the congregational archives of Amsterdam I consulted among others Mr. Mendes da Costa, custodian of the archives of the Portuguese Jewish congregation there. For reasons

[2] Now of the *Koninklijke Huisarchieven* (Private Royal Archives).

best known to himself he was reluctant about admitting me to the documents under his care but was kind enough to point out the names of those seventeenth and eighteenth century notaries who were famed for their Jewish *clientele*. He knew which notaries were patronized by Jews because of the documents in the congregational archives drawn up by these notaries. In this way I was enabled to go directly to a stack of papers sure to contain Jewish material.

Congregational and private archives are in very poor order and consequently difficult to use.

In the *Rijksarchief* in The Hague I first consulted the books and papers of the Dutch East and West India Companies. I found that working on the *Grootboeken* (chief ledgers) of the companies in question would not yield sufficient harvest for the time expended, although, before I came to that conclusion I had copied the Jewish names entered in the *Grootboeken* of the East India Company for two periods of four years, 1700-1704 and 1724-1728. From these books I was able to determine how many Jews bought goods which the company imported, what these goods were, and what percentage of the total business in the given period the Jews did. Those of the *Grootboeken* which still are preserved warrant a special study. From the point of view of American Jewish history or, more specifically, the economic activities of Jews in the American colonies, a closer scrutiny of the records, books, and papers of the West India Company would amply repay the student.

All the archives of Surinam were carefully catalogued by the archivist, Dr. Bijlsma, when they were transported to The Hague. These catalogues have been printed with an introduction but the prints are very scarce. There are many packets of papers witnessed by the notary (*jurator*) of the Jewish congregation in Surinam, Ishak de Nassy, which contain marriage contracts, detailed inventories of plantations, records of the real-estate investments of the congregation,

wills, and other public documents. Some of these which I thought of interest I copied but the documents run into many hundreds and I could not consult all the folios. There are also packages of Hebrew marriage contracts which have not been worked over and would yield important data on the social life. As a whole this archive has not been studied. The documents which I have copied were taken from the following Surinam archives: *Kolonie Suriname, Oud Notarieel Archief,* Nos. 780-788, covering the years 1750-1772; the archives of the Society of Surinam, No. 719, from the years 1705-1716; and the archives of the Netherland-Portuguese-Israelite Congregation in Surinam, Nos. 353-354, and inventory Nos. 134-139.

The following may be of interest. A certain Jos. de Sem. C. Nassy, treasurer of the congregation, embezzled money from the Jewish congregation, amounting to 2,835 guilders, during the years 1756-1758. A detailed report of his fraud was drawn up by one Mat. Pereira de Leon. The well known financial difficulties of the renowned De Nassy family may have led to this embezzlement. De Leon starts his report as follows:

Remarks on the account of Jos. de Sem. C. Nassy, treasurer. As a general comment it may be said that the accounts of Joseph de Sem. C. Nassy do not show the capital which he has taken over from his predecessors, which should be shown for purposes of control.

fol. 2 for the year 1756 lacks the receipt from Altena, lawyer f.27.7

fol. 2 for the year 1756 lacks the receipt of Castilho.. 72.12

this last item is listed under the heading "lumber," without explanation of the uses made of the lumber. This item was not approved, as it should have been, by the *gabay.*

fol. 2 for the year 1756 lacks the receipt from Dd. Pinto, treasurer of *Heshaim,* f.450. It is to be pointed out that Jos. de Sem. C. Nassy has shown a receipt for the same amount, dated 29th September 1755, which he had had approved by the *Mahomad* in his previous account; the receipt of 1756 is lacking .....f.450.

The rest of the document goes on, showing other items not accounted for and entries of amounts higher than the actual expenditure according to the receipt. In closing De Leon states:

The undersigned trusts that he has complied with the desire of the trustees, and remains with respectful veneration, Mat. Per. de Leon.

In a marginal note we find:

A Portuguese copy of this has been delivered to Jos. de Sem. C. Nassy in the Savane, October 15, 1762.[3]

From the document we can see that De Leon went over the books by order of the *parnassim*. This fraud took place in the days of inflated speculations in Amsterdam, when many Portuguese Jews were impoverished. As a consequence the Jews of the colony suffered proportionately. They went so far as to exceed their means. Their bills of exchange were no longer honored by their Amsterdam bankers. The plantations were made over to the bank which sent agents to the colony. This did not improve matters as most of the agents were corrupt. Added to this, many of the slaves, especially those in Jewish hands, left their masters, to join the independent bushnegroes.

That Jews were large slaveholders cannot be doubted. The dozens of plantation inventories from Surinam which I have consulted plainly illustrate this fact. To quote an example or two. We find:[4]

March 21, 1755, David Mossel Cardozo Baeza is the proprietor of the plantation Mahanaim; the houses and grounds are valued

at	f. 52,137.
32 men slaves	18,750.
21 women slaves	10,660.
10 boy slaves	2,345.
2 girl slaves	500.
The cattle amounted to	980.

[3] A copy of the Dutch document is in my possession.

[4] In packet No. 780 of the notarial archives. A copy of the Dutch document with a detailed specification of plantation equipment is in my possession.

The total value of the slaves was f.32,255; the total value of the entire possession f.83,372. To cite one more example: The plantation belonging to the heirs of Aron d'Abraham da Costa is valued at f.91,178, f.52,203 of which were the value of the houses and the ground; f.38,525, for forty men slaves, forty-two women slaves, seventeen boy slaves and thirteen girl slaves; f.450 for cattle.[5]

There are two lists[6] of the names of slave buyers, the number of slaves bought, and the amounts paid. The West India Company had a monopoly of the slavetrade with the West Indies.

February 21, 22, 23, 1707, this company sold slaves amounting to f.127,632. Thirty-nine Jews bought 136 slaves for f.32,160, which is a little more than a fourth of the total transaction.[7] March, 1707, ten Jews bought slaves amounting to f.10,400, which is more than a fourth of the total amount of money expended at the sale, f.38,605.[8]

An interesting comment upon the duties, privileges and restrictions of the chief rabbi of Surinam in 1763 is furnished by the following document:[9]

It is a contract between Meyer a Cohan, Amsterdam, the new rabbi, and Ishac Abrabanel Henriques and David Semach Aboab, of Amsterdam representing the *parnassim* of the Portuguese Jewish Nation in Surinam entitled Beracha Vesalom. The following are some of the interesting points of the contract. The rabbi is not to interfere with the *parnassim;* he is never to take the part of the congregation; if difficulties arise between the congregation and *parnassim* he is always to take sides with the *parnassim* and to help them with advice. He cannot put anyone under the ban without the consent of the *parnassim.* He is to act as teacher to all members of the congregation; he is to teach "from the books of the Prophets to the Talmud inclusive." He is to be accorded all the dignities attendant upon his office and is to be paid 1500 guilders yearly, in

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] In the archives of the Society of Surinam, packet No. 719.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Archieven der Nederlandsche Portugeesch-Israelitische Gemeente in Suriname,* inventory, Nos. 134-139, No 52. A copy of the Dutch document is in my possession.

semi-annual payments. He is also to be given a house next to the Synagogue. Besides his salary he is to have all the emoluments derived from weddings and other services. He is to be given 700 guilders to buy the necessities of the voyage for himself, his family, and his servants. Furthermore the traveling expenses for himself, his servants, and his luggage are to be paid.[10]

The exacting terms and the detailed stipulations of the contract indicate that the rabbi was subordinate to the *parnassim* and responsible to them for his actions, perhaps even for his opinions. A contract which the rabbi made with a sea captain regarding the terms of transportation is to be found in the same packet of papers.

There are a great many documents recording the purchase of real estate by the congregation and thus attesting to its surplus capital. The wealth of the congregation was augmented by cases such as the following: Among many other similar documents there is a detailed account of the way in which the money derived from the sale of the plantation Nahamu was invested. In 1743 it sold for f.30,000 and this money, minus some expenses, was given to the congregation. The congregation invested the money by loaning it out at eight percent.[11]

As I have said, I have not consulted that part of the archives which I knew would not shed light on the economic phase of colonial activity. Besides the documents I have quoted, I have copies of others which it would be to no purpose to summarize as, in many cases, they are isolated facts not presenting a connected story or proving a point of interest. Time did not permit me to make a sufficiently thorough study of the Surinam archives to convey even the outline of what material they afford. I was forced to content myself with the documents strictly pertinent to my subject.

[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *Ibid.*

After a superficial examination of one package of notaries' documents in the city archives of Amsterdam, I realized that this was the most fruitful field of endeavor. Mr. Mendes da Costa mentioned the following notaries as among those noted for their Jewish *clientele:* Joachim Thielmans (about 1650); Pieter Padthuysen (about 1660); Nicolaas Vonk, Fabri, Pedro Schabaalja, and Jan Boots (about 1700); De Wilde, Jacobus van den Ende, Jan Snoek, and Cornelis de Haan (about 1710); Jacobus van der Ree and Johannes Zonnestein (about 1715); and Baars (about 1725), among many others. I first worked with the documents drawn up by Notary Thielmans; these were not indexed, and, since each package contains the documents drawn up for one year numbering about 1400, the task of finding pertinent documents was very difficult and time-consuming. The papers of notary Pieter Padthuysen were furnished with a careful index, giving the name, date, and a brief description of each MS. This facilitated matters greatly as it enabled me to pick out relevant documents involving Jews. In spite of the convenience of the index, time only permitted me to go through the packages covering a period of a little more than five years, 1657-1662. Notary Padthuysen drew up about 1500 documents each year. In the first year there were only 28 documents concerning Jews; in 1658 24 documents, in 1659 51 documents, 1660 95 documents, 1661 116 documents, and for the beginning of 1662 16 documents, a total of 330 Jewish documents. I cite these numbers to point out that if there are 330 documents concerning Jews in a period of five years of the activity of one notary, and many notaries had a Jewish *clientele,* how much material of importance to Jewish history is untouched as yet. I do not contend for a moment that all this matter is of value, but I am convinced that much that is important can be derived from the archives of the notaries.

To indicate the type of document there I have divided my finds into eight classes:

1. Differences concerning buying and selling of merchandise; diverse accusations. Documents in this group show the difficulties of trade at that time, pirates, dishonesty, what goods Jews traded in, with which cities they traded, American and other colonies.
2. Bills of exchange, loans (especially on ships), bills of lading. Several Dutch Jews owned ships, much marine insurance, lively trade in bills of exchange especially with Spain and France.
3. Proxies, showing many middlemen active; several women gave power of attorney to relations.
4. Receipts for goods bought and sold; wills mostly in Spanish and Portuguese.
5. Real estate.
6. Taxes, showing Jews representing other Jews before the government, many small Jewish capitalists.
7. Marriage contracts.
8. Miscellaneous documents not pertinent to my subject but relating to religious and social questions.

I was not especially concerned with American Jewish history, the colonies being but one phase of my problem, although, as is self-evident colonial activities played an important part in the economic life of Amsterdam Jewry.

I found several documents among the papers of Notary Padthuysen which may be of interest to the Society. I have therefore subjected them to closer scrutiny, especially those shedding light upon the difficulties of Jewish settlement in Cayenne. As the late Samuel Oppenheim has pointed out [12] in 1659 an attempt at Jewish colonization in Cayenne was made by the West India Company. David Nassy was given a grant to settle there with a group of Portuguese Jews. They were allowed the same privileges enjoyed by them in Amsterdam, permitted to live ten years taxfree, and to have a school of their own. To the best of my knowledge the difficulties of

[12] Samuel Oppenheim, "An early Jewish Colony in Western Guiana." *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 16, pp. 183, 184.

Jewish settlement in Cayenne have never before been made clear. The earliest document on the question which I know of [13] points out that,

besides Abraham Cohen and Antonio Luis, David Dias Antunes and Abraham Henriques are freighters of the ship *De Stadt Hamburgh,* and that Isack Drago and Abraham Nunes d'Espinosa, representing David Nassy and Abraham Rodrigues Prado, are also the ship's freighters. It is to go from Amsterdam to Cayenne, from there to Curaçao, and back to Amsterdam. This document is dated October 5, 1659. We next hear that October 13, 1659, David Nassy freed a negress who was going to the new colony of Cayenne with his daughter,[14] March 10, 1660,[15] Cornelis Fransen, captain of the ship *Abraham's Offerande* (Abraham's Sacrifice), lately arrived in this city [Amsterdam] from Cayenne makes the following statement at the request of David Nassy and his associates, concerning the difficulties encountered by the Jews of Cayenne . . . that he very well knows, has heard, and has seen that when he arrived at the aforesaid island with his ship, that the participants [in the colonizing project] which he brought there requested the *Commandeur* (Governor) to grant them land for the sake of founding their colony on the island of Cayenne, that in spite of the repeated requests, the *Commandeur* did not wish to permit the settlement. He also did not desire that the people, which he, the witness, had brought over, should remain on the island either as colonists of the company or under him, Langendijck, but, if they so desired, they could establish a colony on the mainland. The participants in the enterprise which he, the witness, had brought over, were forced to grant their people freedom and remove the obligation from them of paying their expenses because they could not acquire land on the island of Cayenne. He, the witness, further declares that he has heard and understood from different people on the island, that Baron Gerbier's people and soldiers had caused the damage to the sugarcane, for most of the damage had already been done before the witness had arrived, and, no one complained about the Jews or participants who had crossed with him. At the same time the witness also points out that before his departure the aforenamed *Commandeur* had issued orders that no

[13] *Notarieele Archieven,* Pieter Padthuysen, 1659, vol. 2888. A copy of the Dutch document is in my possession.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *Ibid.,* vol. 2889. A copy of the Dutch document is in my possession.

one was to leave before the receipt of new instructions from the directors [of the company]; transgressors would be punished by a fine of two thousand guilders. The *Commandeur* refused to nullify the *placcates* although the Jews pointed out to him that he had no right to enforce these *placcates* because they [the Jews] were not slaves but free persons. The witness furthermore declares that a certain Jew had put his baggage in the witness' ship to return with him, but that the *Commandeur* forced him to unload his baggage because he did not desire the Jew to depart from the island. . . .

In all probability the governor blamed the Jews for damage done to the sugarcane crop, which seems to have been done by soldiers.

May 11, 1660,[16] Francisco van Daelen states at the request of David Nassy and his associates that he arrived in Cayenne, January, 1660, on the ship *Het Landt van Belofte* (the Promised Land) and shortly after the ship *Abraham's Offerande* arrived and another ship *De Stadt Hamburgh* (see document concerning the freighters of that ship), both ships with people to found a colony with Nassy and associates as patroons, among whom were many Dutchmen, Portuguese Jews, and participants [in the colonial enterprise] and because he, the witness, understood and spoke Portuguese and Dutch, he aided the people from the moment of their arrival and therefore knows, as one present, that the aforenamed participants and colonists with all humility and politeness requested the *Commandeur* Jan Claeszn Langendijck to grant land, to enforce the order and the contract from the directors of the West India Company, and to accord them permission to settle on those lands on the island which are designated in their papers. He [the governor] did not wish to do it, the witness has heard and understood from a conversation with the said governor that he did not desire to give those who requested it the land on the island as it was not favorable to the interest of his friends. The governor said that the island belonged to him and if the company wished to allow them [Nassy and associates] to establish a colony, they could do so on the mainland for he did not intend to listen to the orders of the company contained in the contract. The witness also knows very well that the aforementioned governor has acted very severely and cruelly to the people, especially to the Jews, and has addressed them with very gruff and contemptuous words as if they were his slaves and an exiled people.

[16] *Ibid.*

This was all obviously done to make things difficult for them so that they would establish their colony on the other side of the river on the mainland. They saw that they were at the mercy of the governor, who acted like a sovereign lord and would not give them a legal hearing. He only answered that he would not give them a single foot of land on the island, therefore, they [the colonists] with the governor, the witness, and another Dutchman, the governor's servant, went to inspect the mainland and found it unfit for cultivation because of the many swamps and pools of water. There were only a few small pieces of suitable land, situated a mile from each other, so that it was impossible for them to found a colony there even if they had wished to, for they would be in great peril on account of the attacks from the Indians who would beat them to death because they could not come together and they had neither fortress nor troops to convey them to safety. . . .

The lengthy document goes on to say that the people whom De Nassy and his associates had brought with them started to mutiny, saying that they would kill the Jews because they had promised them plantations on the island. De Nassy and his associates were forced to grant them freedom from their obligation to work, in order to pay for the expenses of their transportation. The witness further points out the gross injustice of the governor in view of the fact that the island is fully six square miles in area and that the governor only had from thirty to thirty-five people with him, mostly boys, and only twelve laborers, and had planted and cultivated nothing to speak of. The governor's own people were dissatisfied with his rule and told him that they would not remain after their term of service had expired if he refused land to the Portuguese, because they would bring prosperity to the island. The peaceful Indians, too, said that the Jews were a good people and they were glad that they were coming. Furthermore the governor sent various Indians to different parts of the island to make it appear as if more land were under cultivation

There is another document dated May 11,[17] in which the captain of the ship *Abraham's Offerande* once more states that Baron Gerbier's soldiers damaged the sugar crop, and that the governor was aware of this since he had demanded 2000 guilders, damages from the baron.

[17] *Ibid.*

It is clear that the governor wished to fix the blame for the destroyed crops on the Jews, although he knew that it was another instance of destruction perpetrated by the neighboring French troops. The colony did not flourish because of these oft repeated forages by French soldiers. When in 1664 the French took possession of the plantations the settlers left for Surinam.

It is interesting to note that Abraham Rodrigues Prado sold one-sixth part of his land

> which present grantor owns and has inherited, in a colony of Cayana or along the river of the mainland of the Wildcoast, in conformity with the grant given by the directors of the West India Company, in the name of David Nassy and associates to David Nassy and Antonio Luis for 3000 guilders.

The document is dated June 29, 1660. He also is to be released from a debt of f.1200 and his son Abraham Nunes de Espinosa or representatives are to be granted certain privileges in the colony. The question arises whether Prado's sale of his share, a month after the difficulties of his coreligionists were made known in Amsterdam, had anything to do with this sale. The very fact of the date, and the stipulation that his share was either on the island or on the mainland, indicates the unsettled condition of the colony.[18]

By September 23, 1660, the probabilities are that the difficulties were settled or likely to be, for we find that Abraham Drago, Amsterdam merchant,[19] made a contract with Gabriel Lavella, also of Amsterdam, to till the former's share of land in the new colony. The contract stipulated that Lavella and his men are to be provided for for six months, that his and his companions' passages will be paid, that he will get tools necessary for cultivation and four slaves upon his arrival in Cayenne. He was also given one hundred and fifty guilders

[18] *Ibid.* A copy of the Spanish document is in my possession.
[19] *Ibid.*

upon the signing of the contract. All these expenses were to be paid back to Drago from the yield of the land. The contract was valid for six years, or as much longer as it took to pay the expenses. If at the end of a period of six years Lavella did not wish to continue under the terms of the contract, three-quarters of the land belonged to Drago and one-quarter to Lavella. It is not likely that Drago would pay the initial expenses of sending men to cultivate his share of the land if it were not reasonably sure that Jews would be allowed to settle in desirable parts of Cayenne.

The Society may be interested in the following document, because of its reference to Barsimson, said to be the first Jewish settler in New Amsterdam:

To day, July 22, 1660, the following witnesses appeared before me, Pieter Padthuysen, notary public, etc., Sr. Abraham Capadoce, about 44 years of age, and Duarte Dias de Pas, about 38 years old, both inhabitants of this city, they have attested truly, in all honor and piety, under solemn oath, at the request of Sr. Abraham de Azevedo, inhabitant of The Hague, that it is true, first, that the aforenamed Duarte Dias de Pas in the month of July, 1654, has given one hundred and fifty guilders to Aaron Capadoce, to be charged to Abraham de Azevedo, to be used for the purchase of equipment for Jacob Barsimson, then on the point of departing for New Netherland. Furthermore Aaron Capadoce declares that he has received the above mentioned 150 guilders from the aforesaid Duarte Dias de Pas to be charged to Abraham de Azevedo at the time stipulated. Capadoce has used the money to buy certain articles which he has given to the aforesaid Jacob Barsimson for use in New Netherland. He has given a memorandum of the goods to Barsimson and has given him the rest of the money in cash. Done in good faith in Amsterdam, present as witnesses Augustijn de l'Espaul and Hendr. Groenesteijn

(was signed) Aron Capadoce
Duarte Dias De pas
P. de L'Espaul
H. Groeneseijn
P. Padthuysen, Nots. Pub.[20]

[20] *Ibid.*

If this paper serves as an indication of some of the possibilities of the Dutch archives it will have fulfilled its purpose. If time permitted I could add other documents to those already included. I have given a summary of my procedure to indicate to those who may be interested, what I consider the richest sources of Jewish historical material in Holland.

My contention that the economic activity of the Dutch Jews in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has been for the most part overestimated was substantiated by three months' study of archives, though in no wise proved as yet.[21]

[21] Messrs. Sigmund Seeligmann, J. S. da Silva Rosa, J. M. Hillesum and D. van Zuiden gave me a great deal of advice and encouragement during my stay in Holland. The painstaking consideration and aid afforded by Drs. Japikse, Bijlsma and Van Dillen were indispensable. Any student of Jewish history who goes to Holland for research will receive unstinted cooperation and courtesy.

THE PROPOSED SCRIPTURE CALENDAR.

By Wilberforce Eames, A.M., LL.D., Litt.D.

This brief paper relates to certain proposals made in the seventeenth century, by some of the non-conformist and Puritan clergy in England, to get rid of the "heathenish" and "Popish" names of the months and days in the calendar, and to substitute instead the Biblical or Hebrew names. The evidence of this movement is preserved in a number of book titles dated from 1645 to 1674, which, however, have not been available for examination. The principal advocate for the change was Rev. Henry Jacie, or Jessey as the name was spelled later. He was born at North Riding in Yorkshire in 1601, graduated at Cambridge in 1623, became a Baptist preacher in 1645, and died in 1663. It is related of him that he took up the study of Hebrew and Rabbinical literature. His first publication on the reformation of the calendar was in the form of an Almanac for 1645, the title as entered in the British Museum catalogue reading as follows:

> A calculation for this present yeer 1645. Not only according to the English and beyond-sea accounts, but also according to the word of God. By H. J., Minister of the Gospel. London, Printed by M. Bell for the Company of Stationers.

This copy is in the collection of tracts formed by George Thomason, who wrote on it the date of publication as February 2, 1645.[1] According to the anonymous sketch of Mr. Jessey's "Life and Death," printed in 1671, he continued this Almanac annually for nearly twenty years, the later editions having the more descriptive title "Scripture Kalendar."

[1] "See Catalogue of the Thomason Tracts," p 360.

In 1648 appeared another publication in favor of adopting the Hebrew names. It bore the title:

> Calendar-Reformation; or, an Humble Addresse to the Right Honorable the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, touching Dayes and Moneths that they may be taught to speak such a language as may become the mouth of a Christian. By I. B. London, Printed for Francis Neile. 1648.

From a MS. note by Anthony Wood in the Bodleian Library copy, we learn that the initials I. B. stand for John Brinsley, a preacher at Yarmouth, who was born in 1600 and died in 1665. There is also a copy in the Thomason collection at the British Museum, and our title is taken from the printed catalogue. A MS. note by Mr. Thomason gives the date of publication as March 27, 1648.

Two years later there was published another book by Henry Jessey, listed briefly in the "Dictionary of National Biography," but not found elsewhere:

> Scripture Motives for Kalendar Reformation, partly urged formerly by Mr. J. B., etc. London, 1650.

The Bodleian Library catalogue of 1843 supplies the title of one of his annual almanacs:

> The scripture Kalendar in use by the prophets and apostles and by our Lord Jesus Christ. By H. J. London, 1653.

The sixteenth edition "enlarged" of Jessey's almanac came out in 1660 with the following title, copied from a photostat of the original in the British Museum:

> 1660. The Scripture Kalendar in use by the Prophets and Apostles, and by our Lord Jesus Christ; (with our Vulgar Almanack:) explaining the Accounts, Measures, Weights, Coyns, Customs, and Language of God's antient People, and of Primitive Christians. With I. A Preface shewing the Need, Use, and Benefit hereof. II. The Heathen and Scripture Names, and Order of Days and Months; and why Sabbaths Lectures are here put. [Three lines omitted.] VI. Scripture-Names of the Years four Quarters. [Two lines omitted.] VIII. Months Names in Scripture, and significations. [Two lines omitted.] XI. Scripture-

Measures, Weights and Moneys explained. XII. Of Scriptures Days, Hours, and Night-Watches: and a Parallel of Scripture Hours, with Rome and Ours. XIII. 5. Motives for Scripture Reformation of the Names of Days and Months. [Six lines omitted.] By H. J., a servant of Jesus Christ. 16 Edition enlarged. Hos. 2. 17. I'll take away the names of Baalim. See Diodate on Psal. 16. 4. Ainsworth on Gen. 26. 18. London, Printed by James Cottrel, for the Company of Stationers. 1660.

The preface to the Kalendar gives the reasons for the proposed reformation in the names of the months:

Herein you have parallel'd not onely the English and Foreign Accounts, (cal'd the Old and New stile, for help to such as trade beyond sea,) but also, for some help to such whose trading is Heaven-ward. [Kalendarium vet: Ecclesiæ, quod tam Apostolis, aliisq; Christianis primitivis, quàm ipsi Christo fuit in usu, J. Selden.] The Kalendar in use by the Apostles and other primitive Christians, and by Christ himself: according unto the Holy Scriptures.

Agreeing herein to that perfect Rule of Reformation; the English Church and the State here, in all the legal and civil affairs, do rightly begin the yeer in the Month by them called March: as did also the ancient Pagan Romans; as appeareth still by the names of several months, viz. September, October, November, December, that is, 7, 8, 9, 10, (not 12,) from March: and formerly also, Quartilis, Quintilis, Sextilis, (cal'd July, August, from the two first Caesars.) But the later Romans, long after Numa, added January and February in the yeers beginning; which according to their ancient and better account, should have been put in the yeers ending.

Yet with this difference: The beginning of SHEBAT, ADAR, and of each month, according to the Jews (the Lords people) is at (or neer) the New Moons (Phasis or first appearing time) Psal. 104. 19. Gen. 1. 14. (called Months from the Moons). Then they blew the Trumpets with joy in God that gave New Moons, Numb. 10. 10 and Numb. 28, 11, in both which places, the Greek renders it thus, . . . *In the New Moons:* and the Text elsewhere so explaineth it, Psal. 81. 3. *Blow up the Trumpet in the new moon.*

This being an *Assay* towards the reduction of the Months and Days, in their Order & Names, to the Scripture-Language, in help to such as discern it not herein, (Neh. 13. 24.) by means

whereof, such persons may be furthered to understand the Times mentioned throughout the Scriptures, that 42 Months are 1240 days, not 1260. Rev. 11. 2, 3. & 3 yeers and a half are about 1270 days. Also to what part of the yeer or month, according to the English or the beyond-sea Accounts, those Months are to be referred, that in the Scriptures, are called the 1, 2, 3, 4 months, &c. Exod. 40. 2, 17. Num. 1. 1. Exo. 19. 1. Ezr. 7. 8, 9. Zach. 1. 1. & 7. 5. & 8. 19. &c. (which are here commonly mistaken, by counting January the first, Februar. the second—) or when they are called only by their proper-Names, as the Month Abib, or Nisan, the month Ziu, Sivan, Shebat, Adar, &c. Exod. 23. 15. Neh. 2. 1. & 1. 1. Ezr. 6. 15. 1 King 6. 1, 37, 38, &c. which are altogether unknown to most Christians, since Antichrist so much prevail'd. Hence in regard of the Quarters, Fairs, and Terms observed in this Nation, and of Rents and other payments to be made, & of many other occasions, peoples weakness as yet requires the shewing of Times by such names as they have been called and are known by, (1 Cor. 14. 9, 11. Act. 17, 22.) till they can discern & speak the language used in the Holy Scriptures; and till there be a Reformation of Accounts, Names, & things to be agreeable thereunto; which is much to be longed for, and pressed after, (Neh. 13. 24, 25. Exod. 23. 13. Isa. 8. 20. Jer. 6. 16.) As we are also engaged by that solemn Covenant, to endeavour a Reformation according to THE WORD OF GOD.

Section IV presents some "Questions about this Kalendar, with Answers thereto," the first question being, Why a Preacher would set forth such a Kalendar; with answer, To help many weak Christians, that yet are ignorant in Scripture Accounts, Months, etc. It is also explained why the weekly Sabbath Lectures in the Jews Synagogues are entered under their respective dates, in order to show that all of Moses is read through yearly, beginning in September. The Sabbaths and Jewish Feasts, &c. are put here in the last column to show the History, that makes way to know the Mystery of God in such Times. "As for the SABBATH, it's never called Jewish; it's given to all in Adam: and is a Moral and perpetual Precept."

Section VIII treats of the "Months Names in Scripture, & Significations," as follows:

The first Month NISAN, notes a Banner Flying, cal'd ABIB, green Ear, from *Ab*, that's Father.

March
This Month from *Egypts* Bondage *Israel* (a) fled,
Jah giving them a Banner high display'd,
When Barly was in (b) th' Ear, but Wheat was hid.
Of (c) Months, and of new Fruits is ABIB Father
Kings reigns were reckoned hence, with Feasts together. d

(a) Exo. 13. 4, 18. with 17. 15. (b) Exo. 9. 31. Hebr. *Abib*.
(c) Exo. 12. 2. with 13. 4. (d) Talmud of the Newyeer.

The II Month ZIV, 1 King. 6. 1. signifies brightness. Dan. 2. 31. & 4. 36. comely-Beauty, Dan. 5. 6, 10.

April
ZIV, Splendor, Brightness, Beauty, signifies:
From Flourishings (this Month) of Herbs and Trees.
Hence Athens cal'd it *Anthisterion*.
The Jews (from Chaldees) * IJAR, to shew the same.

*אייר, from אור, to shine.

The III Month, SIVAN, Esth. 8. 9. Misveh, a Veil.

May
If SIVAN be from *Savah*, it implies,
Veiling or hiding. Then Herbs, Plants, and Trees,
With Leaves are veil'd: Then we from Sun seek shade.
But what can hide from him that al things made?

Rev. 6. 6. Isa. 4. 6.

The IV Mon. TAMMUZ, תמז of מות, burnt up, consumed, Deut. 32. 24. (not Named in Scriptures.)

June
From *Mazah*, to burn up, if TAMMUZ comes;
It seems so nam'd 'cause Sun then so consumes.
Jerusalem consum'd, by famine, than
Was broken up by th' Babylonian, Jer. 52. 3.

The Month Ab, אב, Hebr. notes Father. This V. Month & the Fourth are not nam'd in Scripture.

July
This Months First day, (a) the High-Priest Aaron dies,
Father of all that did burnt Sacrifice,
And made Atonement: typing Jesus Christ,
Who di'd, and lo, he (b) lives for ever Priest.
On Tenth, *Jerusalem* with (c) Temple burns;
The Sacrifices cease, and (d) *Zion* mourns.

(a) Numb. 33. 38. 1 Chron. 6. 49. (b) Heb. 7. 17, 25.
(c) Jer. 52. 12, 13. (d) Lam. 1. 4. 2 Targum ibid.

The VI Month Ælul, אלול, Neh. 6. 15. signifieth Nought, (Jer. 14. 14). אלזל, read אליל.

August
Ælul a thing of nought: then Nought is found;
The Reapers making bare the Jewish ground.
For cold the * sluggard would not plow: He'll crave
In Harvests plenty, but shall Nothing have.

* Prov. 20. 4.

The VII Month Æthanim, 1 Kin. 8. 2. אתנים Strengths, Mic. 6. 2. Job 12. 19. of איתן. † cal'd *Tishri,* תשרי, sweet wines then, Mic. 6. 16. Deut. 16. 13.

September
This Month the worlds in strengths at first were fram'd *
Eternal strengths and Godhead therein seen.
From New-wine † Vintage now, it's *Tishri* nam'd.
The yeers of Rest, and Jubilee here begin.

* Exod. 34. 22. † Lev. 25. 4, 8, 9.

The VIII Month Bul, 1 Kin. 6. 38. בזל, notes fruit, or falling. Now cal'd *Marcheshuan* מרחשון, from רחש, Psa. 45. 1. of waters breaking out or bubling.

October
From Jebul, Fruit; then later Fruit is gain'd;
Or *Mabbul,* Falling; Rain in plenty falling:
And Fruits unreap'd, leaves, herbs, & grass down-felling.
A Refuge is most sweet, when wrath is rain'd.

Ps. 11. 6. Is. 4. 6.

The IX. Month Kisleu, כסלו, Zech. 7. 1. of *Kesil,* vulgar *Orion,* Job 9. 9. Amos 5. 8.

November
Kesil that's cal'd *Orion,* now ariseth:
Ingendring Tempests, Storms, with Rain together.
This hence till Pleiades in Spring abideth:
And Kesil notes unconstant: as the Weather.

X Mo. Tebeth, Esth. 2. 16. טבת, of Tobath, good.

December
When Winter, old age, Death, approach thee neer, Pr. 20. 4.
If clothes, goods, goodness were not up in store, Pro. 11. 4.
What piercing woes & fears the heart shall tear! 1 Ti. 6. 9, 17.
O hast to Christ, repent, & sin no more, Pr. 6. 6. Job 5. 14. c. 8. 11.

January
XI Month Jews hold a Fast, because they say,
A Tribe from *Israel* then was cut away. Judg. 21. 3. 6.
Moses this Month rehears'd the Law, & told Deu. 1. 3, 12, 15.
What God for Tribes will do, & did of old. Deu. 30. & 33.

The XII Month Adar, Esth. 3. 7. notes magnificent excelling, Psal. 8. 1. strength *, renowned, Governor (a)

February
Adar notes strength, excelling, Governor.
Th' excelling Governor, meek *Moses,* died
This (b) twelfth Month Adar, ere his strength decayed.
This Month th' excelling Temple's finished (c)

* Exod. 15. 10. (a) Jer. 30. 21. (b) Deut. 1. 3. & 34. 5, 7. with Jos. 5. 10, 11. Joseph. Ant. 1. 4. fine (c) Ezra 6. 15. Hag. 2. 9, 3.

Section XIII comprises the "Five Motives for Reformation of the vulg. Idolatrous Names and Months." *First,* from the Solemn League and Covenant, "ingaging us all to endeavour a Reformation, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches: as a happy beginning hath been, in reforming the publick worship, and abolishing idolatrous and superstitious images and Pictures, &c. so it should be in respect of Days and Months, idolatrous Names also."

Second, from the Word of God itself, commanding thus: In all things that I have said unto you, be circumspect, and make no mention of the names of other gods, neither let it be heard out of thy mouth, Exod. 23. 13. *Third,* from many great inconveniences, accompanying the not reforming herein; as first, The mistakes and losses hereby by the most Christians, of some general heads of Scripture-Truths, the least whereof is more precious then all Gold and Pearls, etc. *Fourth,* from the Testimony of divers famous Authors, both ancient and modern, a number of which are cited. And *Fifth,* from Presidents herein, subscribed by John Dury, R. Venning, J. Pendarves, Jos. Caryl, W. Greenhill, E. Harrison, S. Bolton, H. Jessey, and others.

The publication of the calendar was interrupted by Mr. Jessey's death in 1663, but it was resumed a few years later by another hand, as appears by the next title, copied also from the British Museum catalogue:

> 1669. The Scripture Kalendar revived . . . (with our vulgar almanack) for . . . 1669. . . . Formerly written by H. Jesse, and now continued by J. S. London, 1669.

No later mention of the almanac has been found, but the next two titles from Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica,* show a continued interest in the subject:

> Kalendar, Scriptural and Astronomical, for five years during and after Christ's Ministry. By John Butler, B.D., Chaplain to James, Duke of Ormond. London, 1671.
>
> The Jewish Calendar explained. By Henry Care, gent. London, 1674.

The last publication to be mentioned here is an American almanac printed at Cambridge in New England, in which the Hebrew names are given. One of the two known copies is in the library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, and the following title and description are from the photostat reproduction in the series of New England Almanacs, 1646-1699, made under the direction of Dr. Charles L. Nichols,

who first called my attention to the use of Hebrew type in the calendar pages. The author, Josiah Flint, was of Dorchester, Mass., and graduated at Harvard in the class of 1664.[2]

> 1666. An Almanack or, Astronomical Calculations of the most remarkable Celestial Revolutions, &c., visible in our Horizon. Together with the Scripture and Jewish Names (wherein though we agree not with their Terms, yet we follow their Order) for the ensuing Year 1666. Being in our Account third from Leap-year, and from the Creation 5685. Whose Vulgar Notes are Golden Number 14. Epact 4. Cycle of the Sun 23. Roman Indict. 4. Numb. of Direct. 25. Dominical Letter G. Calculated to N.E. Longit. 315 degr. and Latit. 42 degr. 30 min. By Josiah Flint Φιλομαδὴς. . . Cambridge: Printed Anno Dom. 1666.

The calendar begins with the "first month" *Abib* or *Nisan,* and ends with the "twelfth month" *Adar;* that is, from March, 1666, to February, 1667; but the Roman names of the months are omitted. The preface explains the reasons for the change:

> It hath been the zealous desire of many famous Men, that Heathenish Language might be laid aside, forgotten, and unnam'd; which if we may credit History, was begun by an Ordinance from Constantine the Great, Seconded by Q. Elizabeth, sought after by Mr. *Brinsley;* besides the many cursory reproofs it hath met with from many Learned Writers: and is still the desire of many worthy and eminent in England, as may be seen extant in the endeavors of Mr. *Henry Jessey* in his *Scripture Kalender* to perswade to which he adds many Scripture-prohibitions, as Exod 23. 13, enlarged by Dr. *Willet, Tremelius,* &c. Deut. 12. 3, vid. *English Divines, Ainsworth* on Gen. 26. 18, *Diodate* on Psal. 16. 4, and further Argues. (But how far it is valid I leave to the judicious to determine) that it is a breach of the *Initial Covenant,* accounting it a piece of Diabolical service to name the Idolatrous Apellations of one kinde or other. In imitation of which I have ventured to make a beginning and shall leave the progress to the wise disposal of Divine Providence, and the discretion of those that shall succeed. . . . The *Jewish* and *Scripture* Moneths begin always about the New Moon, for their Moneths were Lunar, all consisting of thirty dayes, except the last.

[2] A sketch of his life is in Sibley's "Harvard Graduates," vol. ii, pp. 150-153.

The headings for each month follow:

The first Month contains xxxi dayes. Scripture אביב *Abib,* Exod. 13. 4. or *Nisan,* Esth. 3. 7.

Jehovah-Nissi now his Banner spread,
When's harness'd Host he out of Egypt led.
Now *Pelah,* Wonderful, did's Wonders show,
That th' unbelieving Israelites might know
He was *EL-shaddai,* mighty *Jah,* whose hand
Must carry Israel to the blessed Land.

The second Month contains xxx dayes. Script. זיו *Ziv,* 1 Kings 6. 1. and by the Jews *Jair* from אור (*Sic.*).

Emanuel in's Holy Beauty came
To dwell with men, to solemnize his Name
In's Earthly Ark; in whose bright *Pharos* light
Is a safe conduct to the blessed Sight.
Such Philanthropy, such stupendous love
May win, constrain mens Souls heaven-wards to move.

The third Month contains xxxi dayes. Scripture סיון *Sivan,* Esth. 8. 9. Exod. 19. 1.

With doomsdays dreadful sound God did proclaim
His righteous Law; that th' Breakers of the same
Might learn to tremble at a Reckoning day.
Yet *Hamans* pride the peaceful Jews will slay,
If prudent *Mordecai,* by *Esthers* hand,
To proud Intents don't coin a Countermand.

The fourth Month contains xxx dayes. Called by the Jews תמ *Thamuz,* signifies Consum'd, Jer. 39. 2.

The City of Defence was now laid wast,
Her Walls demolish'd, and her Basis rac'd:
The glorious *Jehovah* in dislike,
Seem'd to convert the streams of Love, & strike
A rending Blow, that by the aking Dart
Or Sorrow, the Church might feel Follies smart.

The fifth Month contains xxxi dayes. Called by the Jews אב *Ab,* Numb. 33. 38. 2 King 25. 8, 9.

Why is't th' Earths joy in mourning weeds is clad?
The City of Solemnities sits sad?
The Princess of the Provinces is chang'd
To Widowhood; Lovers and friends estrang'd?
God cloth'd in vengeance, that dreadful attire,
Made's smoking wrath break to Consuming fire.

The sixth Month contains xxxi dayes. Script. אלול *Elul,* Nehem. 6. 15. Ezra 3. 12. Haggai 2. 3, 5.

The Mansion seat o' th' Temple is not here,
But moving in a Planetary Sphere
Rises and sets: Nor is't worlds colour'd paint
Can varnish or set forth a noble Saint,
Or th' Sanctuary; No, their Company
Them Honour, and their Divine Progeny.

The seventh Month contains xxx dayes. Scri. אתנים *Ethanim.* 1 Kin. 8. 2. called *Tisri* also.

The joyful Church with Feasting and with mirth
Did Dedicate the Temple, and it's Birth
Did Celebrate. God did in's Glory rise,
The Ark his Resting-place to Solemnize:
Where erring Souls in th' narrow passage might,
Coming, enquire, and finde Directing Light.

The eighth Month contains xxx dayes. Scripture בול *Kisleu.* Neh. Fruit, 1 Kin. 6. 38. called by the Jews, *Marcheshvan.*

In 'ts parts the Beauty of Perfection now
Was perfected; her Warfare won't allow
Degrees: those are reserv'd for heaven, whence
Saints hope to see Grace Militant commence
In Glory Triumphant; then th' Church shall be
One of Gods Royal Pearls, from woe set free.

The ninth Month contains xxx dayes. Scripture כסלו *Kisleu.* Neh. 1. 1. by the Jews *Kesil,* Jer. 36. 9.

Mercies restraints constrains the Church to cry,
To Fast, to Mourn, and pierce the Chrystal sky
With their loud-sounding pray'rs: & the sad news
Of th' great distress, and sad estate of th' Jews
Makes *Nehemiah* pray both night and morn,
That God would save the Churches hope forlorn.

The tenth Month contains xxxi dayes. Scripture טבת *Tebeth,* Esth. 2. 16.

When Hellish Council sits, and is about
To raise an Host, by force of Arms to rout
The close Compacted City, and to fetch
Th' excision blow; then did the Lord forth stretch
His potent Arm of Providence, t' advance
The Churches Welfare, and Deliverance.

The eleventh Month contains xxxi dayes. Scripture שבט *Shebat,* Zech. 1. 7.

When Out-cast *Zion* in it's heaps did ly
Among the Myrtles; Mis'ries deep did cry
To depth of Mercy: And an Answer found
Wrapt up in th' Peaceful and delightful sound
Of gracious Promises, where Faith can see,
And say 'Tis done in the Divine Decree.

The twelfth Month contains xxviii dayes. Scri. אדר *Adar,* Esth. 3. 7. & 8. 16. & 9. 1.

When Hell conspires, conjures to turn th' Saints light
To darkesome shade, their day to gloomy night;
Then Gladness, Glory, and their Honour spring:
Heavn's smiles all Heavenly Blessings bring.
Such Thoughts big in Conception, oft do prove
In Birth Abortive, and but slowly move
To a Produce. Prides nature seems to be
Of near a Kin to the grave Qualitie.
Tendit deorsum.[3]

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[3] See also, my paper, "On the use of Hebrew Types in English America before 1735," in "Studies in Jewish Bibliography . . . in memory of Abraham Solomon Freidus," New York, 1929, pp. 481-502.

ISAAC HARBY, JEWISH RELIGIOUS LEADER AND MAN OF LETTERS.

By Max J. Kohler, A.M., LL.B., D.H.L.

At first blush it seems strange that no comprehensive account has so far appeared in the *Publications* of our Society of the career of Isaac Harby, one of the most distinguished Jews in America during the first few decades of the nineteenth century. It is doubtless due to the fact that detailed accounts of him were published elsewhere; first, as far back as 1829, from the pen of his friend, Abraham Moise, of Charleston, in the memorial volume, "A Selection from the Miscellaneous Writings of the late Isaac Harby"; next, in Leon Huhner's sketch of him in "The Jewish Encyclopedia," and subsequently in Rev. Dr. Barnett A. Elzas' scholarly work "The Jews of South Carolina" (pp. 172-6). The student of the Jewish reform movement in America has also naturally interested himself in his career, as shown in David Philipson's "Reform Movement in Judaism" (pp. 461-6) and its citations, and more recently, in Dr. Elzas' booklet, "The Reformed Society of Israelites of Charleston, S. C." (1916), which reprinted in full the constitution and by-laws of that society and the "Memorial" of its founders to the Charleston parent organization. Through the courtesy of Marx E. Harby, great-grandson of Isaac Harby, I have been privileged to draw upon some unpublished MS. material regarding his distinguished ancestor, but, unfortunately, Isaac Harby's correspondence in general (including the original MS. of the famous letter Thomas Jefferson wrote to him, January 6, 1826) seems to have disappeared, though apparently still in the possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. P. J. Joachimsen of New York City, when Isaac Markens gathered the material

for his "Hebrews in America," published in 1888. Contemporary New York and other newspapers furnished additional material, and items that ought to be made readily accessible to the Jewish historical student are added hereto as appendices.

The Harby family Bible contains an account of the early history of the family, penned by Isaac Harby himself; a transcript is annexed as Appendix I. He derives the family name from the Hebrew term, "my sword,"[1] an appellation borne by an ancestor, Isaac ben Solomon. The family fled from Spain to Portugal to escape the Inquisition, and the persecutions of João II caused them to flee once more, this time to Africa. About the middle of the eighteenth century, Isaac Harby's grandfather, Isaac Harbie (*sic*), having been royal lapidary at Fez in Morocco, fled to England, and there married an Italian lady. Six children were born to him there, between 1742 and 1762, the first in Camborne, the others in London; the youngest, Solomon Harby, emigrated to America, and lived in Jamaica from 1778 to 1781. Solomon Harby next moved to Charleston, S. C., about 1782, and married Rebecca Moses (1768-1854), daughter of Myer Moses, in 1787; there five sons and two daughters were born to them, the oldest, the subject of this sketch, having first seen the light of day November 9, 1788.

Some of the most useful contemporary information concerning the Jews in the United States about the beginning of the nineteenth century emanated from Isaac Harby. This was in the form of a statement furnished by him to his friend, Rev. Samuel Gilman, a Unitarian minister of Charleston, at the latter's request, in connection with a review of Isaac Harby's printed discourse of 1825 published by Mr. Gilman

[1] Mrs. Lee C. Harby believed that the family emanated from Northampton County, England, and was descended from Sir Clement Harby, British Consul in the Norea in 1681, who is supposed to have married a Jewess.

in the July, 1826, issue of *The North American Review.*[2] This statement is published in full as Appendix II. Strangely enough this statement indicates that Isaac Harby was himself unfamiliar with the fact that Hannah Adams' "History of the Jews," published in Boston thirteen years before, in 1812, contained an American chapter which gave details about the Jews in America, and particularly in Charleston, secured from Philip Cohen of Charleston, probably a kinsman of Harby's[3] and Rev. Gershon Mendes Seixas.

Harby well said in the statement in question:

> Men who reflect, go anywhere in pursuit of happiness. The immediate ancestors of the most respectable Jews in these United States came, some for the purposes of commerce, others for the more noble love of liberty, and the majority for both. In Georgia and in South Carolina several honorably bore arms in the revolutionary war. My maternal grandfather (Myer Moses, died 1787) contributed pecuniary aid to South Carolina and particularly to Charleston, when besieged by the British. My father-in-law (Samuel Mordecai) was a brave grenadier in the regular American army, and fought and bled for the liberty he lived to enjoy and to hand down to his children. Numerous instances of patriotism are recorded of such Israelites.

In the family Bible, Isaac Harby described his maternal grandfather, Myer Moses, as

> a rich and patriotic Israelite, who assisted his country during the Revolutionary struggle.

Dr. Elzas' "Jews of South Carolina" (pp. 100, 177-9) published a certificate furnished in 1831 by Gen. Sumpter to Chief Justice Moses, concerning his grandfather's services,

[2] The index volume of *The North American Review,* many years later disclosed the authorship of this article. See biography of Rev. Samuel Gilman in "Cyclopedia of American Biography."

[3] See also David Fränkel's *Mittheilungen neuester Reisenden über die Israeliten in Charleston,* in his periodical *Sulamith,* vol. vii, p. 360; also an earlier reference in vol. vi, pp. 8-18 (1822), which reprinted the chapter on the Israelites in America from the German edition of 1820 of Hannah Adams, "History of the Jews."

evidencing more specifically that he did much to alleviate the sufferings of the American wounded and prisoners in Charleston during the war when they were in dire distress.

Solomon Harby's Jewish communal activities are evidenced by the fact that he was selected as one of the several trustees to whom cemetery lands were conveyed as a new burying ground in 1798,[4] and in his last will he gave detailed directions regarding his desire to "be buried agreeably to the ancient Jewish Custom," and this instrument designated his son Isaac as his "successor as Trustee to the New Burying Ground at Hampstead." While his will, dated 1805, left his property to his wife, he expressly excepted his books, which he left to his son Isaac with a statement as to their

having been originally purchased for him in the Pursuit of his education.

The will (Appendix III) evidenced his intimacy with Emanuel De La Motta, Philip Cohen, Myer Moses and Cherry Moise. A kinsman of the last-named, Abraham Moise, became Isaac Harby's biographer in 1829, and Penina Moise, shortly before, published a poem in his memory. During part of his sojourn in South Carolina, Solomon Harby seems to have resided in Georgetown.

Despite above quoted reference to the wealth of his maternal grandfather, Isaac Harby early in life had to assume heavy burdens, for his father's death in 1805, a few days after his will was executed, left a large family, consisting of his mother, and younger brothers and sisters, dependent upon the exertions of this boy of seventeen; and he was compelled at once to abandon the study of law, upon which he had entered. Even previously he had acted as under-teacher, while studying under Dr. Best of Charleston, and also at Charleston College, and soon after his father's death, he opened a school on Edisto

[4] Elzas, "The Old Jewish Cemeteries at Charleston, S. C., 1762-1903," p. 109.

Island, and its success enabled him to transfer it to Charleston in 1809, where it became very favorably known. Dr. Elzas (p. 173) has rescued his announcement from the Charleston *Courier,* January 1, 1810, of his opening of a school in that city, and it is of interest, not merely as throwing light on Isaac Harby's own attainments, but as disclosing the curriculum of the day. It reads:

ISAAC HARBY

The subscriber has opened an Academy in Bedon Alley No. —, where will be taught the usual branches of an English Education, viz. Elocution, Arithmetic, Penmanship, Grammar, Geography—also the Latin and Greek Classics, Composition and the first books of Euclid's Elements.

He pledges himself, not only to pay every attention to the routine of his Pupil's improvement, but also to instruct them in the principles of virtue and patriotism. To instil into their minds honour and morality; and so far to effect the wish of the noble Spartan, as to teach Boys those things *when they are young,* which will prove most useful to them, *when they become men.*

ISAAC HARBY.

He seems to have given up teaching for newspaper work after some years, but returned to it in 1822, and was elected one of the teachers of the city's free schools in 1825, and continued thus active till his removal to New York in the spring of 1828. There he again opened a school, at No. 22 Howard Street, with the cooperation of his sister, Caroline de Litchfield Harby, but death carried him away soon afterwards. His sister, beginning December 23, 1828, advertised her intention in the *New York Evening Post* to continue this "Institution for Young Ladies and Gentlemen" in New York City after his death, and in cooperation with

Mr. Delmar,[5] a gentleman well qualified and who will undertake to teach the English, French, Spanish, Latin and Hebrew Lan-

[5] This name and that of his family appear several times in the records of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue about this time. See *Publications,* No. 21, p 171; No. 27, pp. 111, 120. The "Cyclo-

guages, together with Geography and Mathematics, etc., and all branches of polite education.

It is remarkable that so many Jews conducted schools in Charleston early in the nineteenth century; this suggests a love of education and considerable culture on the part of this little community of approximately six hundred souls. Their remarkable journalistic and literary activity at the same time confirms this. In fact, two of the daily newspapers of Charleston were edited by Jews about 1825, one by Isaac Harby, another by Jacob N. Cardozo as is pointed out in William L. King's "The Newspaper Press of Charleston."[6] Mordecai M. Noah's contemporaneous activity in New York will also be remembered. Dr. Elzas gives considerable attention to the career of Jacob N. Cardozo (p. 176-9), and also to other distinguished Charleston men of letters of the day, including Penina Moise the poetess (pp. 181-4), Dr. Jacob De La Motta (pp. 179-181), and Jacob C. Levy, the author of an elaborate and scholarly article on "The Reformed Israelites" in *The Southern Quarterly Review,* April, 1844. Solomon N. Carvalho, David Camden De Leon, and Edwin De Leon belong to a subsequent period, as of course also Mrs. Lee C. Harby, granddaughter of Isaac Harby.

It was as journalist, man of letters and religious leader, however, rather than as educator that Isaac Harby became famous. While still a youth, he wrote the editorials for a

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paedia of American Biography" in its sketch of Alexander Delmar, economist, said he was born in 1836 at New York and that his father was a native of Spain. Caroline Harby is referred to most appreciatively as "Little Mother" in a memoir of her niece, Octavia Harby Moses, prefixed to a volume of the latter's poems, published posthumously in 1914, entitled "A Mother's Poems." She declined to marry in order to devote herself to her brother's six orphaned children.

[6] The late Samuel Oppenheim kindly called my attention to this book. See, also, J. N. Cardozo's "Reminiscences of Charleston," 1866, p. 33; *cf.*, pp. 31, 34.

weekly, called the *Quiver,* and after a short time purchased about 1814 a daily called *The Investigator,* the name of which he changed in 1817 to *Southern Patriot and Commercial Advertiser,* and which he edited very successfully until 1822. In that year he became assistant editor of the *Gazette and Daily Advertiser,* devoting himself for a year to its political and literary sections. He continued both in Charleston and during his brief residence in New York to contribute literary articles and dramatic criticism to the press, in New York particularly to the *Evening Post.* A number of these were collected in the memorial volume above referred to, which also reprinted his famous "Discourse before the Reformed Society for Promoting the True Principles of Judaism According to its Purity and Spirit."

He was only seventeen when he wrote a tragedy in 1805 called "Alexander Severus." In 1807 he wrote a play, subsequently published and performed, called "The Gordian Knot." Far more successful was his play "Alberti," in vindication of Lorenzo de Medici, the second performance of which, for the benefit of the author, was attended by President Monroe while making a tour of the country. This play attracted a great deal of favorable attention, and was reprinted in the memorial volume. In October, 1813, he delivered an address before the Hebrew Orphan Society of Charleston, where he had at one time taught. He labored zealously and conscientiously to raise the literary and dramatic taste of the day, and contributed much to this end.

For the student of Jewish history, Isaac Harby is best known, however, because of his activities in the Charleston Jewish Reform movement, which is so largely identified with his name. Probably a thorough study of his services in this field can more properly be left, however, to the hands of the rabbinate and, as above stated, Dr. David Philipson and Dr. Barnett A. Elzas have devoted considerable space to this narrative. It is remarkable as an indigenous American Jewish

Reform movement, and was marked by religious zeal and disinterested attachment to Judaism. Besides proposed changes in the ritual, including the introduction of sermons in the vernacular, it was a protest against the effort at autocracy on the part of the Congregation Beth Elohim of Charleston, and it published its own revised prayer-book. Isaac Harby was one of the leaders among the forty-seven members who presented a memorial to the trustees of the parent congregation, which Dr. Elzas has published in full in the little volume referred to, dealing with the "Reformed Society." When the trustees simply laid it upon the table, the memorialists, about November 21, 1824, formed their independent organization. Isaac Harby was the orator, selected to deliver the address at its first anniversary, November 21, 1825, was a member of its corresponding committee, and became its president in 1827. His anniversary address of 1825 was printed in pamphlet form and attracted wide attention, which was greatly emphasized by the sympathetic review of it, already referred to, by his friend, Rev. Samuel Gilman. His departure from Charleston for New York, June, 1828, dealt a severe blow to the entire movement.[7]

Isaac Harby married Rachael Mordecai in 1810, and they had nine children, whose names are enumerated in Appendix I. The death of his wife, April 2, 1827, was a severe blow, from which he never recovered. It was probably an important factor in inducing him to move to New York the following

[7] The letter written to him by Thomas Jefferson, January 6, 1826, regarding his anniversary discourse is well known; it was reprinted in memorial volume (pp. 35-6), and appears in our *Publications*, No. 4, p. 221. The calendar of Thomas Jefferson's correspondence shows that the original draft of the letter is in the possession of the Government. See Series 2, Vol. 45, No. 59. His answer to Jefferson, and an interesting letter to him from Edward Livingston, the distinguished jurist and Secretary of State, are reprinted from the memorial volume as Appendix IV.

year. His sudden death, in his forty-first year, barely half a year after his removal to New York, left his family but ill-provided for.

The *New York Evening Post,* December 15, 1828, announced his death as follows:

> Died. Yesterday morning after a short and severe illness, Isaac Harby, Esq., late of South Carolina, distinguished as an eminent scholar and a writer of no ordinary taste and intelligence. His funeral will take place from his late residence, No. 22 Howard St., at half past three o'clock, to which his friends are respectfully invited.

In its issue of December 20, 1828, the same journal announced a benefit performance "for the orphan children of the Late Isaac Harby" at the Bowery Theatre, describing him

> as a gentleman distinguished in the literary world, and particularly as a friend and impartial critic of the Drama.

Similar announcements appeared thereafter, and the performance seems to have been held on December 30, 1828. On December 23, 1828, the same paper, while referring to the advertisement inserted by his sister Caroline Harby regarding her continuance of his seminary, described him as

> the ripe and refined scholar, the respectable citizen and the upright and moral man, who fulfilled in an exemplary manner the various duties he felt himself called upon to discharge in the relations of father, brother and friend.

The family Bible contains a poetic tribute to his memory, apparently penned by this sister. The memorial volume, hereinbefore referred to, published in Charleston in 1829 and edited by Henry L. Pinckney and Abraham Moise, entitled "A Selection from the Miscellaneous Writings of the Late Isaac Harby," states on the title page that it was published "for the benefit of his family"; his personal friend, Henry L. Pinckney and Thomas Lowndes arranged for its publication.

The *New York Mirror,* the leading New York literary paper of the day, in its issue of December 27, 1828, published the following editorial tribute to him:

ISAAC HARBY

The death of this accomplished scholar and able writer has awakened great and merited regret in the circle of his friends and admirers. Possessing vast acquirements in classical learning, endowed with a chaste and refined sensibility and gifted with a lively and active imagination, he was highly successful in his literary pursuits. As a critic he was considered unrivalled in this country.

His unexpected death, so soon after his removal to this City, has been the cause of inconceivable distress to his family. A generous public will not, however, overlook their sufferings. Both the theatres offered them a benefit; and the school which he successfully established in Howard Street is to be continued by his accomplished sister. The benefit at the Bowery will take place on the thirtieth instant when we hope every friend of native genius will lend his mite to alleviate the pangs of a sorely afflicted family.

In its issue of January 10, 1829, it reprinted a necrology from the Charleston *Courier,* showing how he was regarded in his old home, and reading as follows:

ISAAC HARBY

In noticing the decease of our friend we could wish that the mantle of his genius had descended upon us to pay such a tribute to his memory as his virtues, talents and our friendship for him demand. His death must be regarded by the people of his sect as an affliction of more than ordinary magnitude. Our own citizens, among whom the most of his life was passed, were justly proud of him; by the inhabitants of the whole State his talents were felt and admired not only as an editor, but as a scholar of taste and learning, whilst the flattering notice of him in New York bespeaks the high consideration which even his short residence in that city had won for him as a literary character and man of private worth. Indeed, it is to be hoped that the short notice dictated by friendship in sorrow for his untimely departure will not be all which is to be done for the memory of Isaac Harby. It is a melancholy pleasure to record of him that he was all which a husband and father and a friend or

companion should be. This is not enough for the commemoration of commanding genius, extensive learning, brilliant wit and refined taste. Since such rare qualities were not with him as with many men known only by a circle of acquaintances, but were permitted to show forth for general consideration and delight, they merit and should be made to appear in a permanent form. Under judicious supervision there may be collected from the mass of writings by the deceased no inconsiderable portion that would add much to the native literature of South Carolina. His numerous essays as editor or otherwise were remarkable for good sense and eloquence of style. The chair of dramatic criticism, now he is no more, must long continue unoccupied; and the author or actor of plays may for a time cease to dread the terrible pen of the accomplished satirist. Yet in him the modest merit ever found a sincere adviser and protector, and the number of the rising generation whose preceptor he was will have risen to honor and bless his memory.[8]

Appendix I.

FIRST ENTRIES IN THE HARBY BIBLE REFERRING TO ISAAC HARBY

Register Familie

יִצְחָק הַרְבִּי יוּחָם

In the first century of the Christian Era such families as escaped the destruction of the Temple and who had policy enough to submit conditionally to the terms of Titus and his father were suffered to linger around the relics of ancient greatness. Others were scattered through various provinces of the Roman Empire. He provided alike against their union and their deportation.

My great ancestor Isaac ben Solomon was distinguished by the appellation of *herab* (a swordsman), whence I suppose the family name הרבי (HARBY), literally "my sword."

My ancestors fled to Spain, then to Portugal, where it is probable they remained until the pestilence of the Inquisition, and the oppres-

[8] Dr. Elzas' book on the Jews of South Carolina (p. 176) refers to a fine necrology of him in the Charleston *City Gazette and Commercial Daily Advertiser,* December 27, 1828, from the *Southern Patriot,* his former paper; this was doubtless utilized in the preparation of Abraham Moise's memoir, prefixed to the memorial volume.

sions of João II drove them to Africa. Thus, notwithstanding the exactions of their Mohammedan masters they at least escaped religious persecution. I find my grandfather Isaac Harbie, about the middle of the eighteenth century, employed in the business of a lapidary at Fez in Morocco and in his barbarian majesty's good confidence. Some threat of his life, either on account of his wealth or doubt of his conversion to Islamism, induced him to attempt and effect his escape to England. He there married an Italian lady. My grandfather was a man of gigantic size; my grandmother was a small woman.

Their Issue

Israel, born at Camborne, England,	1742
Benjamin, born at London, England,	1745
Two others, unknown	
Maria, afterwards Mrs. Alvarez,	1760
Solomon, my father, the youngest son of Isaac born in London,	1762

About this time the modern orthography began to affect proper and family names. My grandfather among others submitted to the innovation and the final *ie* was abridged into *y*.

Solomon Harby emigrated to America and remained three years at Jamaica from 1778 to 1781. He married Rebecca Moses at Charleston, South Carolina in 1787. She was the daughter of Myer Moses, a rich and patriotic Israelite who assisted his country during the Revolutionary struggle.

Their Issue

Isaac, born in Charleston,	November	9, 1788
Rachael, born in Georgetown,	May	4, 1791
Levy Myers, born in Georgetown,	September	21, 1793
Samuel Da Costa, born in Charleston,	October	12, 1795
George Washington, born in Charleston,	October	12, 1797
Henry Jefferson, born in Charleston,	October	4, 1799
Caroline de Litchfield, born in Charleston,	May 4, 1801 or 1802	

It was drizzling and the sun shone.
A May shower.

Penina Moise's poem "On the Death of Isaac Harby," was published in the Charleston *Mercury,* December 25, 1828.

Samuel Da Costa Harby died 12 October, 1799 in Charleston.

Solomon Harby died in Charleston on the 14th of March 1805.

Surely his indefatigable spirit, his Godlike generosity, his aspiring genius, can not be obliterated.

Surely the sphere which was denied him on earth for the exertion of his soul's attributes will be largely afforded him in another world.

My sister Rachael married on Edisto Island Abraham Cohen of Posnan in Poland. Issue by him one son. The father died in 1811, the child a week afterwards and my poor sister died in Charleston on Wednesday, November 25, 1812.

De haec negotia atque de negris oculis; et com: partin: Viris: Faemina vaticinator vel auspex praedic:

"There are more things in Heaven and earth than are dreamed on in your philosophy."

Eadem de Matrimonia!

Isaac, the oldest son of Solomon Harby, married in Charleston, Rachael, the only daughter of Samuel Mordecai of Savannah. (He was a faithful soldier in the American Rveolution and died 5th of December 1810.)

Praedic haruspex ad mulierem ut Novies prequad. Et ita Fruit!

The prediction was in 1807. Our marriage in 1810.

Mrs. Harby lost three children; one after its birth. God Almighty had blest our lives.

The Issue of Isaac and Rachael Harby

Solomon was born December 31, 1811, on Tuesday morning at ¼ past 9 o'clock. The sign ♑[1] in about 10°. The planet ☿[2] was the 28° of ♑[1] the moon 2½ S. The observable and prevailing planets were ♂[3] ♀[4] ☿[2] God bless him!

Samuel was born 3 minutes before 8 o'clock on the evening of the 23d March 1813 (about a week before he should have shown his face). The sun was 3° or 4° in ♈[5] and stars of the 2nd, 4th and 5th magnitudes ♂[6] then in the meridian near lat 32½ north, in the bosom of Andromeda (*ap. Astr. Jovialis et Sat.*) God bless him.

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[1] Capricornus, [2] Mercury, [3] Mars, [4] Venus, [5] Aries, [6] Inconjunction.

Julian was born on the evening of 25 December 1815, ¾ after eight o'clock. A fine hardy beautiful boy. God bless him.

Horace was born on Sunday morning, five minutes after nine o'clock, December 21, 1817. God bless him

Armida was born at twelve o'clock on Saturday night 15th April 1820. God bless her.

Octavia, so called from being the eighth, my wife having lost one since, was born on the 4th February 1823 between 9 and 10 o'clock a. m. God bless her.

The nine are complete! (1826)

Mr. Samuel Mordecai, my wife's father, died in Savannah 1820. Mr. Samson Mordecai, her brother, died in Savannah 1826.

My beloved wife Rachael Mordecai Harby departed this transitory world at half after three o'clock on Monday afternoon, age 45 years 9 months, the 2nd day of April 1827. Mysterious and unsearchible Providence.

The daughter, sister, mother, friend and wife
Thou joy and honor of thy husband's life
Thy bones shall rest beneath an earthly sod
While thy pure spirit wends its flight to God.

This is the last entry made in the handwriting of Isaac Harby. The next entry is as follows:

My beloved brother Isaac Harby departed this life after a brief but severe illness in the City of New York on December 14, 1828, in the 41st year of his age.

Oh who shall fill the chasm his death has created!
The Star of Israel hath set.
If yet his gentle spirit hover nigh
The spot where now his moulding ashes lie
How will he read recorded on my heart
A grief too deep to trust the sculptor's art
No marble marks his couch of lowly sleep
But living statues there are seen to weep.
Affliction's semblance bends not o'er his tomb
Affliction's self deplores his early doom.

(The remaining entries in the Bible refer to the rest of the Harby descendants.)

Appendix II.

HARBY'S DISCOURSE ON THE JEWISH SYNAGOGUE

Reviewed by S. Gilman.[1]

Information furnished to the reviewer by Isaac Harby, is contained on pages 72-4, as follows:

The number of the Jews in the United States it is difficult to arrive at with any precision. Such are the influences of habit and time, that while in the old world, under innumerable exactions and disqualifications, there are six millions of Israelites, there are, in these happy United States, not more than six thousand. I arrive at this conclusion, rather from comparative corollaries, than from any given and accurate data. Neither Ramsay, Mellish, Morse, Bellamy, nor any other writer, pretending to enumerate various religious classes, has thrown one spark of light upon the subject. In the New England States there cannot be more than three or four hundred in all; in Pennsylvania, about that number; in New York, about nine hundred and fifty; in Virginia, about four hundred; in North Carolina, about four hundred; in South Carolina, about one thousand and two hundred; in Georgia, about four hundred; in Florida, thirty or forty; in Louisiana, about one hundred; and making a large allowance for the scattered and unknown, I think six thousand the maximum.

Emigration is not so great now as it was formerly, except to New York. South Carolina had formerly the largest number of emigrant Israelites. Charleston alone had a congregation of six hundred. I think that Charleston has been stationary, in this respect, for the last twenty years, and that the city of New York certainly equals it, and soon will double it.

Men, who reflect, go anywhere in pursuit of happiness. The immediate ancestors of the most respectable Jews in these United States came, some for the purposes of commerce, others for the more noble love of liberty, and the majority for both. In Georgia and in South Carolina, several honorably bore arms in the revolutionary war. My maternal grandfather contributed pecuniary aid to South Carolina, and particularly to Charleston, when besieged by the British. My father-in-law was a brave grenadier in the regular American army, and fought and bled for the liberty he lived to enjoy, and to hand down to his children. Numerous instances of patriotism are recorded of such Israelites.

[1] *North American Review,* No. 52, July, 1826, N. S., No. 27, pp. 67-79.

As to the descent of the Jews of the United States, they are principally German and English; though South Carolina has a portion of French and Portuguese. My ancestors came originally from Barbary, where my father's father enjoyed a post of honor in the palace of the emporer of Morocco, that of Royal Lapidary. He fled to England, and married an Italian lady. My father left England for Jamaica before he was twenty years of age. He afterwards settled in Charleston, and I think I may say, was among the first to set an example to his Jewish brethren, of giving a liberal education to their children.

The synagogue in Charleston was built in 5555, *anno lucis* (Biblical, or rather Hebrew chronology, for both the Septuagint reckoning and the Newtonian differ from that of the Jews), corresponding to 1794 of the Christian era. The congregation had previously a small place of worship.[2] The society, which belongs to the synagogue, is called Kahl Kadosh Beth Eloim, The religious society of the house of God. Kahl, or Society, is the name of every Hebrew congregation. The present number of subscribing members to the Kahl Kadosh is about seventy, making upwards of three hundred persons, who are entitled to the religious immunities of the synagogue. The Reformed Society have fifty members, making with their families upwards of two hundred dissenters. The Jews born in Carolina are mostly of our way of thinking on the subject of worship, and act from a tender regard for the opinions and feelings of their parents in not joining the society.

The principal points aimed at by the reformers, are order and decency in worship, harmony and beauty in chanting, the inculcation of morality and charitable sentiments upon individuals, and the promotion of piety towards the Deity. In these things, the Society believes, consist religion, virtue, and happiness; in these, the salvation of every rational and immortal being.

Although in France the rich Jews, generally, have little or no religion, yet in Bordeaux the Israelites have built a handsome temple,

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[2] According to Dr. Schecut's Topography of Charleston, the Israelites assembled as a religious society in that city, some time in the year 1750. As soon as ten men could assemble (which the Hebrew law requires for public worship), they provided themselves with a place, as suitable as their then slender means could command. They have at present an elegant and spacious edifice.

sing with taste and music, preserve great decency and order, and have a portion of the liturgy in French. I have not been able to ascertain whether they sit covered or not. But I perfectly recollect being told, by competent authority, that the worship was solemn, affecting, and engaging.

In Germany, where the civil (Christian) authorities interposed to prohibit several exceptionable ceremonies and practices, it was done at the request of enlightened Israelites.

Appendix III.

In The Name of God, Amen

I, Solomon Harby, being weak of body but perfectly sound in strength of mind, do make this my last Will and Testament revoking and annulling all other wills and testaments whatsoever:—

Firstly. As I do hereby most solemnly and sincerely aver a true and sincere belief in the principles of Judaism, agreeable to the Institutions, laid down, by our sacred lawgiver Moses, and according to the Creed, established and professed by all Jews in the Universe;—I therefore wish and desire that after my decease, I may be buried agreeably to the ancient Jewish Custom, and according to the instructions given to my Friend E. D. L. Motta.

Secondly. As to my worldly affairs and effects, I leave and bequeath all my Estate of every kind and description to my truly beloved Wife Rebecca Harby to her sole use and behoof forever; and except the Desk and Book-case, together with all the Books, which the same contains, and all other Books, on every subject of literature &C. that may be found about the House, I leave and bequeath the same to my dear and beloved son Isaac Harby, they having been originally purchased for him, in the Pursuit of his education. I do hereby also appoint my dearly beloved son Isaac Harby to be my successor as Trustee, to the New Burying Ground at Hampstead.

Thirdly. As to such wordly demands as may lawfully be made against my estate, the same be paid off as speedily as possible, without being an injury to my Widow and orphans.

Lastly. I do hereby nominate, constitute, authorize and appoint my Friends hereafter named, with my most solemn charge that they accept and qualify to be my Executors, to this my last Will and Testament: to wit: my Friends Philip Cohen, Myer Moses, Chery Moise and E. D. L. Motta.

Given under my hand and seal, in the City of Charleston and State of South Carolina, this tenth day of March in the year one thousand eight hundred and five.

SOLOMON HARBY (LS)

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of us, and we in the presence of each other.

FREDK DALCHO (Seal)
JOHN DOUGHERTY (Seal)
TATE LE SEIGNEUR (Seal)

APPENDIX IV

(TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.)

CHARLESTON, 14th January, 1826.

SIR,

The honour of a letter from Mr. Jefferson, was beyond my most pleasing anticipations. A copy of the "Discourse," was naturally addressed to that man whose great object during a long and glorious life, has ever been the improvement and happiness of his fellow creatures. You, sir, stand as a pillar of light, directing the march of our country through the darkness of political bondage, into the cheerful, the tropical morn of political emancipation. To you, therefore, the theme on which I have presumed to touch, possesses its full interest; and it is a reward of which I shall never be deprived, that my honest efforts to improve my co-religionaries, in conjunction with my associates, have met the approbation of the good and great. Our Society commenced with about a dozen members;[1] it already (within a year) can enumerate about fifty. This is an immense victory over habit and prejudice. With patience and industry, we hope, in a few years, to be able to establish a mode of worship, simple and sensible; suited to the liberality of the age, improving to the Israelite, and acceptable to the Deity. The example set by the University, which owes its noblest characteristics to your judgment and philanthropy, offers a bright pattern to any similar institution in our country. May you, honoured sir, live to see your warmest wishes realized in the results.

With sentiments of gratitude and admiration,

I am your ob't. serv't.

ISAAC HARBY.

[1] The writer probably alluded to the original founders.

(FROM EDWARD LIVINGSTON.)

Washington, December 25, 1825.

Sir,

I should be ungrateful, if I did not express my thanks for the pleasure I have received in perusing the "Discourse" you have been so good as to send me; a pleasure somewhat increased, by finding the most liberal sentiments expressed in elegant and classical language, in a book of which the title page rather led me to expect the polemics of a sectarian controversy.

Your subject is highly interesting, and one of your topics brought me to reflect on a literary desideratum, which it would be extremely curious as well as instructive to supply. I mean a history of the Israelites since their dispersion, tracing their different establishments, and detailing their adventures (for that word alone, seems proper to express the variety of occurrences and extraordinary events that have happened to them in the course of their peregrinations and occasional residence among the different nations of the earth.) Their existence as a separate people at this day, after such dispersions, such oppression, and such a lapse of time, is a circumstance which would afford matter for one of the most instructive disquisitions of philosophical history. It is to be hoped that your plan of causing the Pentateuch to be read and explained in the vulgar tongue, will cause the earlier part of that history to become familiar to those most interested in its events; and that the sublime and poetical passages, so profusely scattered through the sacred books, will one day animate some modern Isaiah to undertake the task.

I am, with great respect,

Your most obedient ser'vt,

Edward Livingston.

LIST OF WILLS OF JEWS IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES PRIOR TO 1800.

Contributed by Samuel Oppenheim.*

The following names have been carefully selected from long lists of wills, published in the highly important volumes of *Caribbeana,* relating to the British West Indies, edited by Vere Langford Oliver, London, 1910-1919, of which only complete volumes i-v were issued and Nos. 1-4 of vol. vi, when the publication was discontinued. The names below given are believed to be those of all the Jews appearing in the lists. It would be of considerable interest for historical and genealogical purposes to secure for our Society copies of an abstract of these wills of Jews. Notes have been appended to the names here given, showing in many instances where those names occur in the *Publications.* Certain names which may be those of Jews are not included, as these cannot be verified as such, *e. g.,* the Gittins family, which at first bore Biblical *praenomina* but in later years discarded them; Isaac Lavine, 1764 and 1771, which may have been of the Jewish family into which Alexander Hamilton is said, according to the *Encyclopedia Americana,* to have married in Jamaica; Mayers family, Isaac Pascoe, 1748 and Isaac Singer, 1737. The family names of many of those not here verified by the notes are to be found in the *Publications* and in Gaster's "The Ancient Synagogue." This last has full lists of early Jews.

No lists are given in *Caribbeana* of Jamaica wills between 1700 and 1730 and between 1751 and 1800, recorded in Jamaica, though giving those found in London prior to 1800.

* This paper was received from its compiler shortly before his demise. Hence it has not enjoyed the benefit of his customary painstaking collation and proof-reading.

If extant these should be copied or published and the names of Jews appearing therein extracted.

The headings given below are as in the original print, except the addition of the words "of Jews."

List of Wills of Jews Recorded in Barbados Prior to 1800.[1]

Jacob Attente, 1661
David de Acosta, 1685[2]
Miriam Arobas, 1733
David DaCosta Andrade, 1740
Joseph D[a] Costa de Andrade, 1747
Angela D[a] Costa de Andrade, 1748
Emanuel Aboal [Aboab], 1767
Abigail Arrobas, 1772
Benjamin Abarbanel, 1782[3]
Lunah Arrobas, 1792
Fenetta Abarbanell, 1796
Israel Abbady, 1797
Abraham Henrique Baruch, 1700[4]
John Bueno, 1701
Moses Brandon, 1718
Morducay Burgos, 1736[5]
Abraham Brandon, 1756[6]
Moses Buzagale,[7] 1778
Sarah Belifaute,[8] 1785
Rebecca Benjamin, 1787
David Castello, 1711
Rachel Nunez Carvallo, 1718
Moses Castello, 1729
Abra Carron, 1743
Jacob Carvalle, 1749
Sarah Castella, 1752

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[1] From *Caribbeana,* vol. iv, pp. 25 *et seq.,* and vol. v, *et seq.*

[2] See *Publications,* No. 20, p. 110.

[3] *Id.,* No. 26, p. 251.

[4] *Cf. Id.,* No. 20, p. 112, Abraham Baruch Henriques, *Id.,* No. 1, p. 106.

[5] *Id.,* No. 18, p. 121.

[6] *Id.,* No. 26, pp. 251, 252.

[7] Buzaglo.

[8] Belifante.

Judith Castella, 1759
Abraham Carvallo, 1760
David Nines Castella, 1775[9]
Haim Isaac Raphael Carregall, 1777[10]
Rachel Carvallo, 1791
Margaret Carvallo, 1792
Sarah Israel Dias, 1703
Moses Diaswido, 1715[11]
Benjamin Dilyon, 1714
Samuel D^{e}Campus, 1719
Mathias Dellyon, 1724
Jácob Demedina, 1724
Joseph D^{e}Silva, 1725
Jacob D'fonsica, 1728
Joyce DeMedina, 1732
Abraham Desuza, 1736
David D^{a}Costa D'Andrade, 1740
Isaac Desuza, 1745
Lebinah Delyon, 1747
Issac Dias, 1753
Rachael Delyon, 1778
David D^{a} Decosta, 1780
Haine Delima, 1787
Leah Delean, 1796
David Larfaty[12] D^{e} Pinna, 1797
John Franks, 1719
Jacob Franco, 1726
Moses Franco, 1730[13]
Isaac Franco, 1731
Martin Fridenberg, 1732, possibly a Jew.
Jacob Frois, 1757[14]
Abraham Gomes, 1676
Jacob Gomes, 1758
Isaac Garsia, 1761
Joel Gomes, 1769

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[9] *Id.*, No. 26, p. 251, as David Nunes Castello.

[10] Karrigal, *Id.*, No. 26, pp. 245, 251; Index Volume; *Id.*, No. 31, p. 242.

[11] *Id.*, No. 1, p. 107, Moses Desavido, 1680; *Id.*, No. 19, p. 175, Moses Desavedo, 1696.

[12] Sarfaty.

[13] *Id.*, No. 26, p. 251.

[14] *Cf. Id.*, No. 27, index.

William Gomez, 1781
Sarah Gomes, 1785
Robert Hyam, 1654, possibly a Jew
Moseh Hamis, 1684 [15]
Abigail Henriquez, 1760
Sarah Hinreequez, 1774
John Isaack, 1678
John Isaack, 1683
David Israel, 1689 [16]
Mary Isaack, 1693
Isaac Israel, 1783
Jacob Joseph, 1770, possibly a Jew
Eve Joseph, 1775, possibly a Jewess
Aaron Baruh Lowzada, 1695 [17]
Rachel Baruh Lowzada, 1703
Emanuel Levy, 1709
Rachael Levy, 1712
Ishac Gabay Letob, 1713
Benjamin Gabay Letob, 1720
Moses Henrique Lopes, 1732
David Baruk Louzada, 1740
David Baruh Lozado, 1759
David Lindo, 1759
Moses Lopess, 1762
Abraham Lindo, 1763
Leah Gabay Lettoab, 1763
Moses Lopez, 1778
Sarah Lopez, 1789
Abraham Lindo, Jnr. 1789
David deRaphael Mercado, 1685 [18]
deFonseca Meza, 1701
Moses de Soloman Mendez, 1718
Jacob Marquez, 1725
Jacob Nunez Monsanto, 1734
Rachael Mendez, 1739
Daniel Massiah, 1742 [19]
Judith Massiah, 1749 [20]

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[15] *Cf. Id.*, No. 1, p. 106, Moses Hamias.
[16] *Id.*, No. 1, p. 106.
[17] See *Id.*, No. 18, p. 123; No. 20, p. 111; No. 26, p. 251.
[18] *Id.*, No. 1, p. 104; No. 18, p. 148; No. 20, p. 110.
[19] *Id.*, No. 22, p. 178, giving abstract of will.
[20] *Ibid.*

Isaac Jeosherin Mendes, 1753
John Moses, 1757 [20]
Jacob Massiah, 1755 [20]
Simeon Massiah, 1776 [20]
Esther Massiah, 1782 [20]
Benjamin Massiah, 1786 [20]
Simeon Massiah, 1787 [20]
David Massiah, 1788 [20]
William Massiah, 1790 [20]
Isaac Massiah, 1791 [20]
Esther Massiah, 1795 [20]
Sarah Massiah, 1796 [20]
Jacob Massiah, 1799 [20]
Isaac Massiah Moore, 1798
Aaron Navarro, 1685 [21]
Manuel Namias, 1714
Abraham Nunez, 1736 [22]
Abraham Israel Nunes, 1745
Benjamin Nunes, 1746
Daniel Lopes Navarro, 1767
Judith Nunez, 1774
Rebecca Nunez, 1775
William Nunez, 1796
Jacob Israel Nunez, 1797
Jacob Pathscoe, 1682 [23]
Ester Pacheco, 1718 [24]
Rachel Peisotto,[25] 1727
Aaron Pereira, 1740
Rynia Perrieza [Pereira], 1746
Abraham Pinheiro, 1755 [26]
Lunah Pinheiro, 1770
David Pinheiro, 1781
Jael Pinheiro, 1782
Abraham Pispotto [Peixotto], 1786
Judith Pispotto [Peixotto], 1791

[21] *Id.*, No. 1, p. 105; No. 19, p. 174.
[22] *Id.*, No. 5, pp. 55, 88.
[23] Possibly intended for Jacob Pacheco. *Cf. Id.*, No. 1, p. 106; No. 19, p. 174, Jacob Pacheco, 1680.
[24] *Id.*, No. 26, p. 251.
[25] Peixotto.
[26] *Id.*, No. 26, p. 251.

Aaron Pinheiro, 1795[27]
Isaac Pinheiro, 1796[27]
Joseph Salamon, 1724
Samuel Tuxeira, 1746
Daniel Ulloa, 1713
Esther Ulloa, 1740
Solomon Ulloa, 1779
Eleezer Valvirdee, 1725
Jacob Valvardee, 1729
Elias Valvardee, 1739
Moses Valvardee, 1740
Isaac Valvardee, 1743[28]
David Valvarde, Junior, 1745[29]
Aaron Valvarde, 1746[30]
Abraham Valvarde, 1746[30]
David Valvarde, 1753
Hester Valvarde, 1755
Lunah Valvarde, 1756
Jacob Valvarde, 1756[31]
David Valvarde, 1782
Jacob Valvarde, 1793

List of Wills of Jews, Relating to Barbados, Proved in Prerogative Court of Canterbury, London.[1]

Joseph Mendes, 1712, in 139 Barnes
Eliz. Valverde, 1743, in 26 Boycott
Rachel Nunes, 1756, in 173 Glazier
Leah Louzada, 1765, in 12 Rushwth
Sarah Lousada, 1788, in 84 Calvert
Abig. Baruh Lousada, 1790, in 194 Bishop

Names of Jews whose Wills are Registered in Jamaica Previous to 1700.[1]

David Gomes, in Liber 1, commencing 1660[2]
Sarah Rizio, in Liber 7, commencing 1691

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[27] *Ibid.*
[28] *Id.,* No. 26, p. 251.
[29] *Ibid. Cf. Id.,* No. 1, p. 106.
[30] *Ibid.*
[31] *Id.,* No. 27, p. 249.
[1] From *Caribbeana,* vol. ii, p. 196 *et seq.*
[1] From *Caribbeana,* vol. i, pp. 103 *et seq.*
[2] See "Records of New Amsterdam," vol. vi, p. 318.

David Alvares, in Liber 7, commencing 1691
Joshua Bueno Henriques, in Liber 8, commencing 1694[3]
Solomon Delecon [Deleeon], in Liber 8, commencing 1694
Gabriel Moreno, in Liber 9, commencing 1697
David Pacheco, in Liber 9, commencing 1697
Moses Silvera, in Liber 9, commencing 1697

LIST OF JEWISH TESTATORS WHOSE WILLS ARE ON RECORD IN THE OFFICE OF THE ISLAND SECRETARY, JAMAICA, FROM 1731 TO 1750, INCLUSIVE.[1]

Baruh Judith Alvares, 1731
Joseph Abrather, 1741[2]
David Almeyda, 1743
Abraham Almeyda, 1743
Jacob Ysidro Barruh, 1731
Pereira Isaac Brandon, 1731
Pereira Isaac Brandon, 1740
Benjamin Bravo, 1741[3]
Levy Joseph Barrios, 1743
David Bravo, 1748
Pereira Esther Brandon, 1750
Ladesma D[a] Carvalho, 1731
David Carvalho, 1733
Isaac Carvalho, 1738
Gomes Isaac Casres, 1745
Samuel Carvalho, 1748
Va[s] de David Costo, 1748
Mosses Desossa, 1733
Jacob Detorres, 1735
Joshua Da Silva, 1735
Jacob Decastro, 1737
Jacob De Castro, 1738
Mordechay Da Silva, 1738
Policarpio Esther De Olivera, 1743
Samuel Daniel, 1743

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[3] *Publications,* No. 20, p. 112.

[1] From *Caribbeana,* vol. ii, pp. 114, *et seq.;* also in *Additional MSS.,* British Museum, 21,931.

[2] *Publications,* No. 5, p. 112.

[3] *Id.,* and No. 18, pp. 159, 165.

Alberquerque Daniel DeCosta, 1748
Cohen Moses Delara, 1748 [4]
Jacob Ferro, 1737 [5]
Isaac Franks, 1741
Isaac Gabay, 1731
Solomon Gabay, 1741
Moses Nunes Gonsales, 1741
Jacob Mendez Gutterez, 1748 [6]
Gabay David Henriques, 1735
Moses Henriques, 1745
Lopez Abraham Henriques, 1746 [7]
Solomon Hart, 1746 [8]
Sarah Hart, 1748
Francis Israel, 1738
Joseph Israel, 1745
Michael Jacobson, 1737, possibly a Jew
Moses Paro Lopes, 1733
Loper David Lagona, 1735
Henry Levy, 1738
Rodringes Ab^{m} Lopez, 1741
Rodringes M. Lopez, 1743
Lopez Claron Laguna, 1743
Joseph Massias, 1737
Samuel Massias, Sen^{r}, 1741
Samuel Massias, 1746
Abraham Miranda, 1748
Cordozo Isaac Nunes, 1741
Joseph Pinto, 1733
Minasseh Pereira, 1737
Menassah Pereira, 1741
Isaac Pinto, 1745
Aaron Pereira, 1746
Lopes Samuel Pereira, 1746
Moses Pereira, 1746
Joseph Pereira, 1746
Daniel Pereira, 1748
Moses Portello, 1748
Sarah Pereira, 1750

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[4] *Id.*, No. 5, p. 112, as Moses Cohen Delarha.
[5] *Id.*, No. 5, p. 116.
[6] *Id.*, No. 5, p. 111; No. 18, pp. 153-5, 166.
[7] *Id.*, No 5, p. 112, as Abraham Lopez Henriques.
[8] *Id.*, No. 5, p. 116.

Mendes David Quixano, 1738
Mendez Abraham Quixano, 1738
Abraham Rodrigues, 1733
Daniel Rodringuer [Rodrigues], 1741
Isaac Ribero, 1745
Gomes Daniel Silva, 1743 (2)
Charles Samuels, 1746, probably a Jew
Moses Vitta Sacerdote, 1746
Moses Towro, 1733 [0]
Lopez Sarah Torez, 1735
David Tavarez, 1746
Aaron Verdugo, 1745
Moses Waag, 1746
Isaac Ydana, 1733
Moses Ydana, 1741
Joseph Ydana, 1748
Cardoso Abraham Zubo, 1735

List of Wills of Jews, Relating to Jamaica, Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Somerset House, London, Before 1880.[1]

1735, Rachel Gomes Gutieres, in 206 Ducie
1738, Judith B. Alvares, in 192 Broadrepp
1740, Jacob Fonseca, in 198 Browne
1744, Benj. Bravo, in 229 Anstis [2]
1741, Aaron Lamego, in 131 Potter [3]
1749, Isaac Pereirs Brandon, in 84 Lisle
1752, Jacob Baruh Lousada, in 271 Bettesworth
1752, Jacob Mendes Gutterez, in 282 Bettesworth [4]
1755, Dan. Mendes da Costa, in 100 Paul [5]
1760, Abraham Gonsales, in 284 Lynch
1764, Isaac Gonsales, 350 Simpson
1765, Sarah Silvera, in 196 Rushworth
1766, Isaac Mendes Da Costa, in 349 Tyndall
1767, Isaac Lamego, in 18 Legard [6]

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[0] Touro. *Id.,* No. 5, p. 88, as Moses Toiro in 1693.
[1] From *Caribbeana,* vol. ii, pp. 53 *et. seq.*
[2] *Publications,* No. 5, p. 112; No. 18, pp. 159, 165.
[3] *Id.,* No. 18, p. 160.
[4] *Id.,* No. 5, p. 111.
[5] *Id,* No. 5, p. 112.
[6] *Id.,* No. 18, p. 154.

1767, Ester Lamego, in 18 Legard
1768, Jos. Da Silva, in 276 Secker
1768, Aron Louzada, in 321 Sacker[7]
1769, Dan. Baruh Lousada, in 355 Bogg
1785, Israel Elkin, in 77 Ducarel
1787, Sarah Lopez Torres, in 519 Major
1789, Dan. Mendes Cunha, in 14 Macham
1790, Abraham Bernal, in 3 Bishop
1790, Jacob Delmar, in 69 Bishop
1791, Abr. Cardazo, in 502 Bevor
1792, Lady Reb[a] Mendes da Costa, in 69 Fountain
1793, Isaac R. Nunes, in 217 Dodwell
1793, Isaac M. Pereira, in 105 Dodwell
1795, Esther M. Monsanto, in 600 Newcastle
1796, Mordecai R. Lopes, in 134 Harris
1797, Jacob Kellerman, in 557 Exeter
1798, Reb[a] Henriques de Mesquita, in 394 Walpole
1798, Abigail Pereira, in 207 Wapole

Wills of Jews Proved in Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Relating to West Indies,—British Guiana.[1]

1779, Abr. Pardo, in 317 Warburton

Nevis Wills in Prerogative Court of Canterbury.[1]

Will of Bernard White, of Nevis, dated October 2, 1699, names as executors, Solomon Israel of the Island of Nevis, and Azariah Pinney, merchants, proved 16 May, 1701.

Will of Azariah Pinney, of Nevis, dated March 28, 1718, was witnessed by Solomon Israel and others.

Will of George Richardson, of Nevis, merchant, dated 30 December, in 13th of his Majesty's Reign [1701]. Witnesses vouch for will February 5, 1701-2. Solomon Israel named as Executor. Proved July 27, 1723. Power reserved for Solomon Israel, the other Exr. (*sic*).

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[7] *Id.*, No. 18, p. 121.
[1] From *Caribbeana*, vol. ii, p. 353.
[1] From *Caribbeana*, vol. ii, p. 306; *Id.*, pp 13, 14.

MARCUS OTTERBOURG, UNITED STATES MINISTER TO MEXICO IN 1867.

By Ruth L. Benjamin.

In the summer of 1832 a prince was born in the old palace of Schönbrunn, Austria, and there was great rejoicing. That very day a small boy of five might have been seen playing about the streets of Landau, in the Rhenish Palatinate, Bavaria. The small boy, if he thought about his future at all, never dreamed that his path would cross that of the infant prince, many years later, in far-off America. Maximilian was to become an emperor. Marcus Otterbourg, was to become minister of the United States to Mexico just two days too late to save the life of that emperor.

Marcus Otterbourg was one of a large family of children. His parents were plain, wise, hard-working Jews, highly respected in their community. Every child had to learn a trade; Marcus' was cap-making. But even as a child he was more interested in what went on inside people's heads than in what they wore on top of them. So he left his home in Germany and journeyed to Paris, where an older brother, Solomon, was already a physician; here Marcus educated himself and, with his strong native gift for languages, was soon able to support himself as a teacher. Dr. Solomon Jonas Otterbourg was "widely respected as one of the most enlightened minds of the age."[1] He was a strictly conforming Jew. His younger brother's attitude toward religion can best be given in his own words. Many years later he said to a New York reporter:

[1] *The American Hebrew,* March 25, 1881.

peror, and entered Mexico City, June 12, 1864. Opposing his monarchy was the full-blooded Indian, Benito Juarez, calling himself president, insisting that his country was a republic, and recognized by the United States as rightful ruler. For three years the Hapsburg archduke called himself emperor of Mexico, and his wife, the beautiful, power-mad Carlotta, called herself empress. It was Carlotta who played upon Maximilian's pride, keeping him in Mexico to the tragic end.

And how did the United States look upon this setting up of a European empire across their border? When the Civil War ended in 1865, the people of the United States became suddenly aware of this flouting of the Monroe Doctrine. They favored war with France.[10] The government resisted the demand. We were ill prepared for another war.

At this moment Abraham Lincoln died and all else seemed unimportant. We all know how shocked his fellow countrymen were; what a sense of personal loss was theirs. It may be interesting to see how his death affected the small group of Americans in far-off Mexico. When the news of Lincoln's assassination reached Mexico City, Otterbourg delivered an address in his memory. He began:

> It would be a presumption on my part, should I dare to attempt to do justice to the occasion that has assembled us here together, but it would be equally wrong to fail, however incomplete it may be, to give a short history of the Departed, whose memory will live, long after *we* shall all have passed away, in the hearts of every American—every friend of Liberty. . . . . In his position as Chief Magistrate of the United States his only aim was to carry out the trust that was confided to him. *Selfishness and narrow ambition which often leads the minds of individuals to misunderstand great ideas and to mistake great ends,* never had any influence with him; . . . . we can say of him—the *common laborer,* who sprung up from the people to the brightest position a man can obtain and hold, that he followed the only true path traced to him by the instincts of his nature. . . . . May his example be imitated! May the same

[10] Duniway, *supra,* p. 324.

spirit be cherished which animated him, and may a united and grateful people enjoy the fruits of his labor and sacrifices![11]

Otterbourg, said one of Maximilian's biographers,[12]

had been United States Consul for several years . . . . and had proved himself a thoroughly competent and zealous representative.

Now, in April, 1865, with a new administration at Washington, he resigned his position as consul and returned to the United States, intending to remain there, but his resignation was not accepted and he went back to Mexico. In fact, as Corwin had returned to the United States at the time of Maximilian's arrival, and had afterwards resigned, Otterbourg was appointed in charge of the legation until a new minister should reach Mexico.[13]

In the meantime public opinion in the United States was becoming more and more insistent that the French should withdraw from Mexico.

The American Secretary of State yielded at last to the feeling of Congress and the people and wrote his peremptory dispatch of February 12, 1866, to demand the assignment of a time limit to intervention in Mexico. Whatever might have been the original purposes of the expedition, said he, they had become subordinate to the maintenance of a political revolution by armed intervention.[14]

Napoleon had changed his attitude; April 5 he assured President Johnson that he had decided to withdraw the French army from Mexico in three divisions, one in November, one in March, 1867, and the last in the following November.[15]

In the summer of 1866 Otterbourg again tried to resign. His wife and several small children were living in New York; finding it increasingly difficult to get along on the small

[11] MS. address, *supra,* now in possession of his daughter, Mrs. Benjamin.

[12] P. Martin, "Maximilian in Mexico," p. 408.

[13] *Merchants & Manufacturers Review, supra.*

[14] Duniway, *supra,* p. 326.

[15] *Ibid,* p. 327.

salary of a consul. He longed to go to them; wished be could have them with him; hesitated about having them share the difficulties of existence in Mexico at that time. His work was practically that of an envoy, although technically he was still consul, in charge of the legation, and his salary but $1,000 a year.

His official despatches were masterpieces of composition, lucidly setting forth, in detail, the political, as well as the economic situation of Mexico for the information of the United States government in Washington.[16]

His letters to his wife are mainly personal. The possibility of their being intercepted made it unwise for him to discuss matters connected with his official position. August 29 he wrote her that he was going home shortly. As yet he did not know whether he would have to return to Mexico. He discussed the things that he would bring with him.

That sounds as though I had every intention of keeping my word and setting out in October, doesn't it? And, God willing, nothing will prevent me from showing you again that I keep my promises.

Another letter, September 10, began by telling of various debts paid off, and continued:

Enough money left to spend the winter in New York or with you in Mexico. The only thing lacking to make me completely happy and content to-day is the presence of you and the children. The fight, dear Augusta, has been harder than I can write you about to-day. It has cost me many a gray hair. . . . . I should like to tell you much, very much, dear Augusta, about my position here, but I prefer to keep all that until I can tell you in person, and, in order to do that, I have a great deal to do this month. Tonight I am invited to dine with the finance minister. This is settled then: I shall leave here not later than the end of October. Whether I am to return here, and you with me, will be decided in Washington after my arrival there. . . . . Will see Corwin in New York. Just wrote to him. . . . . With the next American post I shall learn the probable hour and day of my departure from here. So have patience!

[16] Martin, *supra.*

A postscript warned his wife not to repeat the contents of the letter.

The situation in Mexico hastened Otterbourg's departure, so that he did not even wait for orders from the United States. This part of our history is so unfamiliar to most people that there are probably only a few who remember the so-called Sherman-Campbell expedition and still fewer who know why General Sherman was sent to Mexico, though every school boy can tell you that he marched through Georgia. What was the occasion of this expedition? Twelve years later Otterbourg discussed it with a reporter of the *New York Herald:*[17]

> Marshal Bazaine was in the interior and the situation had become very grave at the capital. Rumors were afloat that the French army had become dissatisfied and that Marshal Bazaine had begun to despair. . . . . I had to be my own newsgatherer, agent, reporter or whatever you choose to call it, and resort to strategy to secure something like accurate information for my superiors at Washington. There was no doubt, however, that any man slightly familiar with the circumstances and daily occurrences about him could see that the empire was fast crumbling. A few days before I had to make up my mail for Mr. Seward I was out on one of my tours of observation, and made it my business to hunt up a man of whom I knew I could obtain the truth as to the condition of things in the interior.

This meeting took place in a café. Otterbourg asked him whether he had heard anything from Bazaine recently. After three glasses of sherry the man thawed completely.

> I have some information [he said], but it's all of a confidential nature, and you must guarantee that I shall never be mentioned as your source of information if I tell you what I know.

The consul promised. The man then read to him a letter from an acquaintance attached to Bazaine's headquarters. The condition of the French was described as being desperate. Otterbourg considered the details of this information so vital that

[17] December 29, 1878.

the American government ought to know about it, and, fearing that a despatch might be intercepted by Mexicans, he decided to carry the news home in person.

> I returned to the legation [he said twelve years later], and sent a despatch to the Consul at Vera Cruz, instructing him to notify the State Department that I would leave Mexico the following day for Washington, my arrival there to be subject to the approval of the Secretary of State. In other words, I was going home without leave, reserving my explanation for Mr. Seward alone.

On the following day he started on his difficult journey. There were practically no railroads in Mexico at that time. The line to Vera Cruz, although it had been started about nine years previously, had not been completed, yet to Vera Cruz one must go in order to take the steamer for the United States. The trip might be made by carriage or on horseback, and the roads were so poor that to go by carriage was even "more fatiguing than the saddle." In fact, travel had scarcely improved since the days of Cortez. Therefore it is not surprising that it took the consul ten days to reach Washington, about twice as long as nowadays; rather was it unusually fast for that time! He managed to do it by going through New York without stopping even long enough to see his family.[18]

At Washington he reported at once at the State Department and was received by Seward. He told him all that he knew of the situation in Mexico. The Secretary of State approved his coming in person with the confidential news. Otterbourg asked for thirty days' leave of absence in order to visit his family, but this the secretary at first refused and placed him under orders with the privilege of remaining in the capital. However, two days later, through the intervention of the secretary's son, Fred, he was given permission to see his wife and children in New York with the understanding that he would hold himself in readiness to leave at a moment's notice if needed. To

[18] *Ibid.*

New York he went and enjoyed a well-earned rest. Then, October 20, came orders to report in person at the State Department.

On the 23rd at about six in the morning he arrived in Washington, and at nine he saw Seward. The latter said:

I want you to reduce to writing whatever you have to say about Mexico. There is to be a Cabinet meeting at eleven o'clock, at which Mexican matters will be discussed and I should like to present your report. Will you sit right down and do it for me now?

The consul did as requested and Seward took the report with him to the White House. News had reached the United States that Maximilian was about to abdicate and had already left the capital. A few days later Otterbourg was ordered to report at the State Department to meet Lewis D. Campbell who had been appointed minister to Mexico. He and General Grant were to go on the steamer *Susquehannah* to Mexico, together with Otterbourg. Two copies of their secret instructions were given to Campbell, one for himself, one for Grant, and Otterbourg received the third copy. Seward requested them to call on Grant and notify him of his appointment to the mission. They did so. General Grant took a cigar, lit it, offered one to each of his visitors, and said coolly,

I will not go to Mexico.[19] I receive no orders from the State Department. This order does not, properly speaking come from the State Department, General. It is really from the President, Mr. Johnson. Mr. Otterbourg,. I am not a Presidential creature. I am subject to the orders of Congress only. I will not leave Washington. If the government wants me to drive the French out of Mexico, I can attend to that business from this office. Sheridan is near the frontier and he'll execute any orders I give him.[20]

After some general conversation about Mexico, Campbell and Otterbourg left the general and reported his refusal to the State Department.

[19] *Ibid.*
[20] *Ibid.*

As Grant would not accept the appointment, General Sherman was chosen in his place. Otterbourg "never consented to go with" the expedition.[21] He did not feel that some of its members

> understood or appreciated the importance of the mission and the position assumed by the American people toward the Mexicans.

He believed that the undertaking would end in failure. In this belief he was right. Probably the character of the new minister to Mexico was chiefly to blame.

> A more unworthy and pusillanimous individual could not have been selected.[22]

Afraid to set foot on Mexican soil, it was hardly to be expected that Campbell could accomplish anything of value from the safe places in which he passed the period of his ministry. Nor did he and Sherman pull together well.[23] Although it was Seward's desire that all three should go together, the consul finally received permission (again through the intervention of Frederick Seward), to go alone,[24] and be at Mexico City before the others arrived. As we shall see, it was well this arrangement was made, as the other two never arrived at the capital.

The frigate *Susquehannah,* carrying Campbell and Lieutenant-General Sherman, left New York on the 10th of November. As they were going as envoys to the republican government of Mexico, they intended to land at Matamoros, then in rebel hands, and to try to communicate with President Juarez.[25] Two days later, Otterbourg, taking his family with him this time, embarked from the port of New York on the steamer *Manhattan.*[26] The *Susquehannah's* first stop on its voyage was

[21] *Herald, supra.*
[22] Martin, *supra.*
[23] John M. Taylor, "Maximilian and Carlotta," p. 143.
[24] *Herald, supra.*
[25] Emile de Kératry, "Emperor Maximilian," p. 228.
[26] *Herald, supra.*

at Havana; there Campbell decided to wait for the consul in order to confer with him with reference to the arrangement of a plan by which the consuls at Vera Cruz and Mexico City might promptly and reliably convey to him such information touching the situation of affairs in the interior, as would be necessary for him to have upon his arrival on the coast of Mexico.[27] The *Manhattan* reached Havana on the afternoon of the 19th. On the 20th Campbell had a long conversation with Lane, consul at Vera Cruz, and with Otterbourg. A system was arranged by which they were to collect and transmit to him all information which might tend to expedite his efforts to communicate speedily with President Juarez. On the morning of the 21st these gentlemen proceeded to their destination. Lane remained at Vera Cruz, and there made known the fact that a mission from the United States was on its way to that place.[28] Otterbourg went on to Mexico City, which he reached, November 26, bringing the news to that city of the *Susquehannah's* imminent arrival.[29] No little surprise was caused by this announcement that two American plenipotentiaries accredited to Juarez were coming to Mexico, as that country was still nominally an empire ruled by Maximilian who had not yet embarked for Europe as was generally supposed in the United States.[30]

One of the first things the Consul did after his return was to call on Marshal Bazaine, now in the capital, and explain to him the approaching visit of Campbell and Sherman. The government of the United States, he told the French commander-in-chief, was acting in concert with the Tuilleries to restore the republic.[31] To find out what Bazaine's plans

[27] "Correspondence with Ministers to Mexico," in House Document, No. 30, 40th Congress, 1st Session, p. 12.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[29] *Herald, supra.*

[30] Emile de Kératry, *supra,* pp. 240-241.

[31] S. V. Stevenson, "Maximilian in Mexico," p. 248.

were was one of the chief objects of this rather inconclusive visit. According to Otterbourg's own account,[32] written to Campbell, he suggested to Bazaine that the first step should be

> to deliver the City of Mexico into the hands of the municipal authorities whom they [the French] found in power on their entrance into the capital in 1863, with the guarantee to sustain them until the federal authorities should have taken measures to reassume the reins of government.

At a second meeting, according to Kératry,[33] Otterbourg told the marshal that he had instructions from his own government to coöperate with the French commander-in-chief in settling upon a Juarist general to whom the City of Mexico should be transferred, in order to avoid the disturbances which threatened to break out at any moment. He urged General Porfirio Diaz as the most worthy of being chosen for this purpose.

> The marshal manifested all the astonishment he felt . . . . and declared plainly to Mr. Otterbourg that as long as Maximilian trod the Mexican soil and had not abdicated, he remained in his eyes the only lawful chief of the country who had any right to the French protection; that, until this moment arrived, no fresh measures could be taken. . . . . Subsequently, when the archduke was once embarked, he could not see any objection to organizing a government with the coöperation of Porfirio Diaz.[34]

We must remember that Bazaine had been a hero of the Mexican adventure before Maximilian reached the country, and he had always envied and hated the man who had been sent out to take the position which he himself coveted. It was natural that this feeling should exist, but it made matters extremely difficult for both, and led to constant tension between them. Bazaine was an obedient soldier, who tried to carry out Napoleon's orders, no matter how contradictory they might be. His latest orders were

[32] *Herald, supra.*
[33] Pp. 241-242.
[34] *Ibid.*

to establish a Government in Mexico which should be as favourable to French interests as possible.[35]

Fully convinced that Maximilian was about to leave the country, he was ready to obey his chief. Nevertheless, he could not help feeling sorry for Maximilian, now that his day of glory was over. Hence his objection to any such sudden measures as those suggested by the American consul. There would be time enough to make plans for the future when the fallen emperor had departed.

But almost while these two were talking, Maximilian changed his plans. Abandoned by the French emperor, filled with grief at the news that his wife had lost her mind, he had made all arrangements to leave Mexico. His baggage was on board the ship which was to take him away.[36] His farewell letters to Mexican diplomats in Europe were written and ready to sign. And yet, on the afternoon of November 28, Maximilian decided to remain. An appeal to his honor from a Mexican exile in Europe brought back all his old courage.

So, when the *Susquehannah,* bearing Campbell and Sherman, anchored off Vera Cruz, November 29, the envoys heard that Maximilian was not abdicating, as they supposed, but had decided to remain in Mexico some time longer.

December 1, Maximilian made formal announcement of his decision. Suddenly the entire situation had changed. The French had relied upon the emperor's departure. Now, resenting their recent treatment of him, he decided to return to the capital to spite them. The position of the French was greatly complicated and their withdrawal made more difficult. Maximilian was determined to show the French that he could get on without them.[37]

Meanwhile Otterbourg had not been idle. He not only saw Marshal Bazaine but Dano, the French minister to Mexico,

[35] Egon Corti, "Maximilian," vol. ii, p. 742 (English edition).
[36] *Ibid.,* p. 753.
[37] *Herald, supra,* and Corti, *supra,* p. 749.

and General Castelnau, who had been sent out to Mexico by Napoleon for the special purpose of inducing Maximilian to abdicate. At Otterbourg's suggestion, these three, who were all at loggerheads, finally agreed to invite General Sherman to land and confer with them "as to the most acceptable method of bringing order out of the existing chaos." It had not been an easy matter to accomplish and the consul was elated. As soon as Bazaine, acting for the three French officials, had written the letter, Otterbourg hastened back to the Consulate and sent off a long report to Campbell at Vera Cruz. He told of all that had happened since his return to Mexico, giving a particularly full account of his interview with Bazaine.

After a careful perusal of his [Campbell's] instructions, which I used as my guide in the delicate and difficult task imposed upon me, I ventured to suggest, unofficially, to the Marshal that the United States government would admit of no combination other than the recognition and ultimate establishment of Juarez as President. [He wrote that it was up to Campbell to decide whether he should continue with his] endeavors to ascertain the views and intentions of the French, and to encourage such action as might conduce to the immediate success of Campbell's mission. I am informed that 6,000 stand of arms have to-day been ordered from Vera Cruz [for the Mexican army which Maximilian was recruiting], and that all the leading generals of the reactionary party are to take the field against the liberals. If they do so it means war to the bitter end and prolongs and accumulates difficulties unless some decided steps are immediately taken.[38]

With this report, for which Campbell had agreed to wait at Vera Cruz, went the invitation from Marshal Bazaine to General Sherman. But Campbell did not wait. On the evening of December 2, not deeming it wise to land at Vera Cruz, he and Sherman left that port.[39] One hour later the consul's letter arrived. The *Susquehannah* steamed away to the northward; the mission to Juarez had effected nothing.

[38] *Herald, supra.*

[39] "Diplomatic Correspondence," vol. ii, p. 334.

In 1878, in speaking of this period to a *Herald* reporter, Otterbourg said:

Had the envoys remained twenty-four hours longer in Vera Cruz, and received the report which reached that city one hour after they left it, *Maximilian would not have been executed* and might have been living to-day, thousands of lives would have been saved, and a great deal of hardship to American citizens prevented.[40]

After short stops at Tampico and Matamoros, Sherman separated from his uncongenial fellow-envoy at Brazos Santiago, about the middle of the month, and went to New Orleans, while Campbell, hearing that Juarez was on his way to Monterey, set out for that place.

If General Sherman had come to the City of Mexico, it would have been very easy to have found an opening for Mr. Campbell to land and present his credentials to the government recognized by the United States—that of Juarez.[40]

But Campbell was very easily discouraged. He got as far as Matamoros once more and then on the 19th, learning that Juarez was unlikely to go to Monterey after all, he gave up all idea of remaining in Mexico and proceeded to Brownsville, enroute to New Orleans.[41] While in the Gulf of Mexico, just after leaving Brownsville, our minister was overtaken by an American gunboat commanded by Captain Cooper. The latter handed him a despatch from Lane, consul at Vera Cruz. Enclosed in it was the report from Otterbourg, which he should have received almost three weeks earlier. The sealed communication from Marshal Bazaine to Lieutenant-General Sherman, which Campbell found within Otterbourg's report, impressed him as likely to be of importance. Having no instructions from Washington, he decided to deliver it in person. Campbell reached New Orleans on the 22nd of December. The following day be brought Bazaine's invitation to Sherman.

[40] *Herald, supra.*

[41] "Diplomatic Correspondence," vol. ii, pp. 337, 389, and *Herald, supra.*

The latter, whose thoughts may be read between the lines, immediately addressed the following acknowledgment to Otterbourg:

I beg you will call on Marshal Bazaine and assure him in my name of my high appreciation of the manner in which he offered to receive me in the City of Mexico. You already know why reasons existed at that time why our Minister, Mr. Campbell, could not with propriety, land at Vera Cruz, and I was required to attend him to Tampico and Matamoros. I am now going to . . . . St. Louis, Mo., but should I ever again have a chance I will not hesitate to avail myself of it to meet that distinguished officer, and to convey to him in person my acknowledgements of his kindness on this occasion.

With great respect, your friend and servant,

W. T. Sherman.

Campbell, the next day, wrote an account of all this to Secretary Seward, explaining his presence in New Orleans, and at the same time telegraphed, asking the State Department's leave to return home because of his daughter's illness. Seward ordered him to remain at New Orleans while events ripened in Mexico.

Meanwhile Maximilian had returned to Mexico City and the situation there was daily growing worse. His relations with the French officials had not improved.

The opinion was entertained by a great many in Mexico that the moment the French troops were withdrawn from the capital there would be a pronunciamento and a subsequent change of government. [January 14, 1867, a council was convoked at Mexico by Maximilian], at which were present General Marquez, Marshal Bazaine, the Archbishop of Mexico, the minister of state, with other persons of note, ... called . . . . again to deliberate upon the question [of the emperor's abdication].[42]

In his report to Seward, three days later, Otterbourg wrote that twenty-five members out of the thirty-seven present had voted in favor of Maximilian's continuance.

Notwithstanding the majority in his favor, Maximilian continues undecided, and Mr. Lares, the prime minister, is discouraged. The

[42] "Diplomatic Correspondence," *supra,* pp. 345, 346.

French continue to arrive from the interior, and steadily push forward on the road to Vera Cruz. . . . . The minister of finance called a meeting of capitalists . . . . on the 16th instant, and informed them that he needed $1,000,000 . . . . which they would be expected to pay. . . . . I have advised two American citizens, who were summoned to this meeting and were assessed in a certain quota of this forced loan, to inform Mr. Campos, minister of finance, that they must certainly have been put on his list by mistake, as they were citizens of the United States.

This question of forced loans continued to be a source of friction and one of the most difficult problems that Mr. Otterbourg had to deal with. Owing to his courteous firmness, American citizens were able to hold out against the impositions laid on them for the support of Maximilian's army. He gave strong protection not only to these American citizens, but also to the German merchants who had settled in Mexico, and the many Austrians, who had come over with the Archduke.

January 29, Otterbourg wrote to Seward:

I have invited the American residents here to the Consulate, advising them not to join any organization which might compromise their neutrality. All of them have registered their names and residences, in readiness to respond to my call in case of emergency. . . . . I will, under all conditions, endeavor to act with prudence, and at the same time be careful not to compromise the honor of our flag. . . . . The forced loan . . . . to the amount of $1,000,000 . . . . has produced the net result of $49,000.

February 5, the Mexican capital was evacuated by Marshal Bazaine and the last of the French troops. Otterbourg at once telegraphed the news to the consul at Vera Cruz, authorizing him to notify the State Department. He also wrote at length to Seward concerning the final rupture between Bazaine and Maximilian and the uncertainty of those in the capital as to whether the latter would depart now that the French had gone, or would try to continue his empire without their help.[43]

[43] Seward, "Seward at Washington," vol. iii, p. 363.

The gloom which always follows and precedes great events in a revolution overhung the city. No man felt safe; no one knew what was coming next.

There were reports that Generals Marquez, Miramon and Mejia were to conduct the military operations of Maximilian. Marquez was famous for his pitiless nature. Miramon had been leader of the Conservatives in the civil war of 1857 and was a capable general. Mejia had been one of his chief lieutenants before Maximilian came to Mexico. Marquez at Toluca held out for a while against the Juaristas. Miramon, attempting to capture President Juarez, almost succeeded, but was badly defeated a few days later, and compelled to retreat towards Queretaro. Mejia sent word to Maximilian that he was ill. The situation appeared hopeless for the emperor. The only cities he now held were Mexico, Puebla, Vera Cruz and Queretaro.

Otterbourg believed that the time had come when Maximilian might be persuaded to leave the country. On a former occasion the emperor had encouraged him to speak his mind frankly. He now asked for a private interview with Maximilian. February 7 he was received.

Until you leave, Sir, [said the American,] there can be no satisfactory solution of Mexico's difficulties. Speak your mind freely, [Maximilian answered in German. Otterbourg told him that he feared the emperor would never get out of the country alive, unless he went now, along the road to Vera Cruz still occupied by the French army. His present supporters would not remain such. Maximilian listened attentively, but did not answer. Otterbourg continued:] You will be perfectly consistent if you leave the country at this time, when the French government has abandoned you to your fate. Without French support you would never have come to Mexico and it will be plain to everyone that you are going only because the French Emperor has failed to fulfill his agreement. This will not be abandoning the Mexicans. I concede everything you say, replied Maximilian, and thank you for your solicitude for my personal safety. I feel that I have not made as many friends in Mexico as I desired to have bound to me. There are some good men, however, who have attached

themselves to my cause, thinking to promote the welfare of their country by so doing. I can not leave them to the mercy of my enemies to be persecuted when I am safe. I shall either save them with myself or share their fate, whatever that may be.

Otterbourg was silent. Neither as a man nor as an American representative could he reply to such an argument. He bowed and withdrew. That was the last he saw of Maximilian, who, on the 13th, set out for Queretaro.

Averse to monarchical government as he was, the American could have nothing but respect for Maximilian personally. And this feeling was returned. Indeed so cordial were the personal relations of the two men, that Otterbourg was later accused of having been in Maximilian's pay! This charge was entirely without foundation, but no one could help liking the kindly, generous, unfortunate Emperor of Mexico.

What a contrast the Mexican general, Marquez, presents! He was now in the capital city, having been sent by the other Conservative leaders to bring Maximilian to Queretaro. As the star of the emperor sank, Marquez began to act with extreme cruelty. He laid the foreign merchants and business men under contribution, in order to support the army, and threatened them with imprisonment if they would not pay.[44] He also placed the capital under martial law. These actions, Otterbourg wrote to Seward on the 10th, had

awakened much excitement and disquietude among the representatives of the nations who have recognized the empire, and induced a meeting of the diplomatic corps. Acting with entire independence of all other foreign agents, from the relative position of the United States and the authorities here [he had found it] necessary to recur to different measures which might secure the interests of American citizens and the honor of the flag that covers them. . . . . Business enterprise and commercial activity, which for months past have been declining are now completely paralyzed in consequence of the condition of the political situation and the heavy contribution [exacted by the finance minister upon all property].

[44] *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung,* December 8 1893.

On the 16th, after informing Seward of the departure for Queretaro of Maximilian and Marquez, Otterbourg wrote:

Aware of the result so far attendant upon the action of the diplomatic corps, I have refrained from the expression of any opinion which might positively influence the course of citizens of the United States, and the more, as the decree imposing this contribution affects American interests chiefly where it applies to the issue of licenses or patents, the tax upon which has never been greater than one-fourth of the amount collected upon capital or large mercantile establishments. . . . . Since the withdrawal of the French army every courier to the coast has been intercepted, and the wires of the telegraph are cut.

During this period of great anxiety and dramatic interest in Mexico, Campbell had withdrawn still further from the scene of action. On the 9th of February, he left New Orleans and went to his home at Hamilton, Ohio, to remain there a full month.

Otterbourg was much concerned when he saw in the newspapers that Campbell had gone back to the United States. He wrote to the State Department:

Should the report of Mr. Campbell's return prove correct, I would respectfully call the attention of the department to the fact that on no previous occasion and under no circumstances has there ever been so generally recognized the importance and necessity for the presence in Mexico of a representative of the United States invested with all the prestige and authority which the government can give to a minister. Though every effort is exerted on my part to fulfill the wishes of the government in regard to the Mexican question, I must confess to a certain feeling of diffidence and doubt in my action lest, at any given moment, I should not be able to sustain the course which circumstances and the interests of humanity shall require of me. The department will not, I trust, misconstrue my remarks when I report that of all foreign agents at present in this city I attract most attention as acting for a government which alone enjoys any influence in this country.

This letter speaks for itself. There is no doubt that Otterbourg wished he had the title of minister as long as he was performing all the duties which went with it. Then he felt

that he might really accomplish something in Mexico. He knew that the situation of Maximilian and his troops was critical. At any minute Mexico City might be attacked from without, or in the throes of inner tumult and rioting. How could he, a mere consul, deal with the tremendous problems involved?

Meanwhile, at Queretaro, the crafty Marquez was busily plotting to make himself more important. He was Maximilian's chief of staff, now, but that was not enough. He had himself appointed *lieutenant de l'empire* by Maximilian, with power to replace the ministry with a new one. At a council of war, March 21, it was decided to send Marquez to Mexico City, where he was to form a new cabinet, raise more money, and return to Queretaro with help.[45] The imperial army was almost completely surrounded by the Juarists, but by a feint in one direction by the garrison, Marquez and a picked body of troops were enabled to get through the lines in the opposite direction. At eleven o'clock at night, on the 22nd, they set out for the capital, and on the 27th, they entered it.

The Austrian Minister at Washington now began to feel the gravest anxiety for Maximilian's personal safety. He persuaded Seward to intervene. April 6, 1867, the American Secretary of State telegraphed Campbell, then at New Orleans, that the capture of Maximilian by the republican armies seemed probable. He ordered Campbell to communicate to Juarez at once the desire of the United States that Maximilian and his supporters should receive humane treatment.

It was 1:30 in the afternoon of that same day that the minister received this message. He immediately wrote to Lerdo de Tejada, Juarist minister of foreign affairs. In this communication, Campbell regretted that it had "not yet been in" his power "to present formally to his excellency President Juarez" his letters of credence. He communicated Seward's

[45] S. Basch, "Erinnerungen aus Mexico," vol. ii, pp. 53, 65.

request. This letter was entrusted to John White, an ex-soldier. General Sheridan placed a despatch steamer at White's disposal, and Campbell ordered him to leave with the message on the 8th; he then wrote to Seward to tell him of these arrangements, which he termed the promptest possible under the circumstances.

Eleven years later, Otterbourg was asked by a *Herald* reporter whether Seward could have saved Maximilian's life. He replied:

If you would ask me whether Mr. Seward intended to save Maximilian's life, and did all he could to accomplish that object, I would certainly answer, Yes. [The reporter asked,] Why did he not succeed? Because the agents of the American government either did not understand or carry out the instructions given by Mr. Seward. Maximilian's life could have been saved by an American representative endowed with a proper understanding of the situation and the requisite firmness of purpose. No impression on the Mexican government could have been made by written communications sent to Mexico by our legation from New Orleans. The Mexicans understood this well enough.

Marquez, instead of returning speedily to Queretaro with reinforcements for his besieged emperor, decided to attack General Diaz near Puebla. April 10 he was utterly routed and barely escaped with a handful of cavalry, taking shelter from the pursuing troops within the walls of the capital. The following day, Otterbourg described this defeat in a letter to F. W. Seward. The capital was in a state of intense agitation.

In the midst of the general excitement, it is impossible to foresee what may occur from one moment to another. The pressure brought to bear upon the authorities might yet induce a change of resolution and convince them of the policy of abandoning the city. I have heretofore been fortunate in obviating the impositions upon American citizens of forced loans and contributions exacted of foreigners, to the entire disregard of the representations made to the contrary by foreign ministers. To informal applications made for my intervention I have replied that when those charged with the security of the population should require and solicit such intervention, the consul of the United States would be prepared to act as events might

dictate, in the interests of humanity. Since the above was written 2,000 of General Marquez's forces have come in from the field of their defeat.

When three weeks had elapsed since Marquez's departure from Queretaro, and nothing had been heard from him there, Prince Felix Salm was sent out to look for him and to bring back help for Maximilian's forces. Among the letters that he carried was one to Otterbourg from Dr. Basch, the emperor's private physician.

I allow myself, at the bidding of his Majesty, to send you, as an entirely neutral person, some data, of which you may wish to make use at the proper place. As personal physician to his Majesty I am naturally in the camp of the Imperial troops in Queretaro. Before us is an enemy, who calls himself liberal, but whose acts belie that word. I suggest that you let our opponents know what a difference there was between Juarez's method of warfare and our own. Hoping that in the name of humanity and civilization you will take the appropriate steps.

Salm was unable to break through the lines and this letter, therefore, was never delivered.

There is no question that there was ample time to have made such a demonstration as would have saved Maximilian's life. But the news that reached Mexico City from Queretaro was most unreliable. Moreover, Otterbourg's duties would not permit him to leave the capital, where he was bound to protect American interests. And as Campbell was still minister, the consul's position in Mexico was a very delicate one.

The Mexicans were in a nervous state toward all foreigners. The capital was now beseiged by General Diaz and food becoming scarcer and more expensive every day. Otterbourg saw to it that the hungry foreigners were fed; he could not resist their pathetic appeals for protection. He wrote to Seward:

In the conviction that the policy of the United States has never been to refuse countenance to those who rightly solicit their protection, I should feel authorized to exert officially the influence of the Consulate by serving whenever applied to as a medium of communication

between foreigners and their government; and while thus acting I should endeavor to obtain security for the former.

Now came the news that Queretaro had fallen, and Maximilian, with all his generals, had been taken prisoner. The consul of the United States in Mexico City notified his government of the surrender and wrote May 25:

Prince Maximilian, by the general voice, is courteously treated at Queretaro by his captors, and is to be subjected to trial by a council of war as soon as the constitutional government shall have been reëstablished in the capital. While the liberals have been warm in expression of their displeasure at the tone of the correspondence between the minister of Austria at Washington and the Secretary of State of the United States upon the treatment to be awarded to Maximilian, the journals of the ministry make it an occasion to reproach their opponents with subjection to the will of the American government.[46]

Percy Martin says,

So great was Mr. Otterbourg's influence with the Mexican authorities that it is not improbable, had he been employed instead of the incompetent Lewis D. Campbell, to present the government's representations respecting the pardon of Maximilian, that the request would have been granted.[47]

But Otterbourg was still only a consul. As such he had to refuse the French minister, when the latter requested him to accompany the Prussian minister and consul, who had gone to Queretaro to offer Maximilian their sympathy and support. Otterbourg felt that he had no right to leave Mexico City at the moment when every American citizen's life and property were in danger. His official position, he believed, did not admit of any act on his part

which would arouse the animosity of the Mexican people, who had already shown themselves to be restive on this subject.

No matter how much respect he enjoyed, a consul of the United States could not save Maximilian. Since his conversa-

[46] "Diplomatic Correspondence," *supra,* pp. 408-409.
[47] *Supra,* p. 408.

tion with Campbell in Havana, the preceding autumn, Otterbourg had received no word from him, and was entirely uninformed as to his plans and proceedings.

Dano, the French minister, whose only reason for not going to Queretaro with the other foreign representatives was the belief that he would hurt the chances of Maximilian's acquittal by his presence there, changed his mind a few days later and asked Otterbourg to get him a pass through the lines. The American wrote to Diaz for this purpose, but the latter refused to give Dano a safe-conduct.

The suffering in Mexico City was becoming so intense that, June 10, Otterbourg asked passes to take his family and other Americans out of the city. He received the passes for himself and his family, but did not make use of them, having requested them merely as a precaution. Many in the capital were starving. Horse, dog and cat meat were eaten even by the richest inhabitants. On the 11th, the last bread supply was sold by the bakers.

That same day, Campbell, still hesitating about going to Mexico, received definite orders from Seward to set out immediately. He was told that the President desired it. Still he delayed, pleading ill health. His failure to obey orders finally brought about his resignation as minister, which, June 15, was accepted by the Department of State.

While Campbell had been idling away his time at New Orleans, American citizens at Mexico City were being thrown into prison for the purpose of extorting money from them. Otterbourg wrote to the prefect on the 15th that if these people

> do not find themselves uninjured in their houses before three o'clock this afternoon, all the serious consequences which must ensue will rest upon the individuals who have participated in their arrest.

They were released. The consul of the United States was the agent of the only government which Marquez feared or respected. He opened the consulate to the unfortunate mer-

chants and gave them the protection of the American flag.[48] At the same time he had an armed guard placed around the building. General Marquez threatened repeatedly that he would have him arrested, and had, in fact, signed an order to that effect which was stayed only through the firmness of the political prefect. The danger to the consul and all Americans seemed so great that General Diaz agreed that on a preconcerted signal he would know that the consulate was being attacked and would then immediately come to their assistance.

Meanwhile, at Queretaro Maximilian had been tried and condemned to death. The only concession which Juarez made was to delay his execution for three days. On the 19th of June the emperor faced the firing squad, meeting death bravely.

That evening, the army defending Mexico City against its besiegers agreed to an armistice. Otterbourg played a prominent part in the final negotiations. Marquez had fled when it appeared that his own safety was threatened, leaving the imperial troops in charge of General Tabera. At the latter's urgent request, the United States consul went outside the walls to see General Diaz in order to secure the most favorable terms of surrender, particularly for the Austrians who had remained loyal to Maximilian. Diaz told him that the surrender must be unconditional. As for the Austrians, he would guarantee their lives if they would shut themselves up in the palace and hoist the white flag. He would send them to Vera Cruz under escort. In accordance with these terms, at 7:30 on the evening of the 20th, the capital of Mexico surrendered to Diaz, after a blockade of more than seventy days. Otterbourg was delighted. The next day he wrote a long letter to Seward telling him all the events of the last stirring weeks. He was entirely ignorant of the fact that he had just been appointed successor to Campbell. The secretary of state, June 21, telegraphed to his son from Relay House, Maryland:

[48] *Staats-Zeitung, supra.*

Marcus Otterbourg, of Wisconsin, now consul at Mexico, is appointed Minister to Mexico, *vice* Campbell, resigned. Send him dispatch in my name by telegraph via New Orleans, thence both ways to Mexico by mail, announcing his appointment. He will act without waiting for the commission, but commission will be immediately forwarded. Send my correspondence of this morning about Mexico to him.[49]

As Percy Martin said:

when no human being could any longer affect the fate of the unfortunate Maximilian, Mr. Campbell was succeeded in his diplomatic post by Mr. Marcus Otterbourg.[50]

Otterbourg said afterwards:

It could not have been known in Washington that the unfortunate Prince had been shot two days before. . . . . I argue this way from my appointment to be Minister. . . . . I believe that my orders to act without a commission meant that I should do all I could to intercede for Maximilian. The appointment came too late for that purpose.[51]

Later, when asked his opinion of the execution, he told the authorities that he doubted its propriety from a political point of view. It was five weeks before Otterbourg received Seward's telegram of the 21st, and knew of the change in his status; meanwhile, Edward L. Plumb, Secretary of Legation, was acting as chargé d'affaires. Plumb had originally been appointed at the direct request of Campbell who had heard that he was a gentleman and well informed with regard to Mexico.

Plumb wrote an abusive letter to Seward, June 25, attempting to stop Otterbourg's appointment as minister.[52] His main charge was that Maximilian had told Clark, correspondent of the *Herald,* who told Henry Thompson, another correspondent, who told Plumb, that the American consul in Mexico City

[49] State Dept., "Correspondence with Ministers to Mexico," MS., p. 76.

[50] *Supra.*

[51] *Herald, supra.*

[52] "Correspondence with Ministers to Mexico," p. 8.

had been in the pay of the French imperialists! His explanation of Otterbourg's sudden trip to Washington, the previous autumn, was that Maximilian had paid him $7,000 to induce the United States to recognize the empire. It was well known, Plumb went on, that Otterbourg was "entirely in the French and Maximilian's interest," that he always had money troubles, and that he was "adroit and cunning." He charged further that it was "of notorious remark in Mexico" that he was "supposed to make money out of his office"; that he had taken a State Department despatch to the imperial palace and opened it in the presence of officers there; and that he had extended consular protection to one Crawley, not a citizen of the United States.

To us, who have seen how Otterbourg tried to persuade Maximilian to leave the country, how energetically he protested against forced loans levied by imperial officers, and how earnestly he had coöperated in all efforts to establish a republican form of government in Mexico, it is almost incredible that anyone could bring such charges against him. But Plumb, of course, wished to be minister. Seward acknowledged his scurrilous letter and told him that it had been laid before President Johnson; the charges had then been transcribed and sent to Otterbourg, unsigned, that he might answer them.[53] But long before the answer came, Plumb was notified that he had been suspended.[54]

Otterbourg's immediate reply to the charges communicated to him was written August 3.[55]

> Never at any time or under any circumstances was I ever employed by the government of Prince Maximilian nor was I ever paid any sum of money nor did I ever receive any other consideration for services rendered or which might be rendered by me, either as an official or as a private individual, to the said Government. . . . .

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[53] State Dept., Instructions, Seward to Plumb, July 1, 1867, MS.
[54] *Ibid.*, Hunter to Plumb, July 26, 1867.
[55] *Ibid.*, MSS. "Mexico," Otterbourg to Seward, August 3, 1867.

I am fairly entitled to believe, that the respect conceived for me both by Maximilian himself and by the officials of his Government left no room for the presumption, that I could be induced to hear any proposition, which might dishonor my position or cause me to waver in the trust reposed in me by the government of the United States. . . . . Furthermore, that I never left Mexico . . . . with a view to work for . . . . the recognition of . . . . Prince Maximilian. . . . . My personal relations . . . . were such alone as seemed to me necessary for one, who neither recognized nor was officially recognized by the authorities, to whom he was called upon to address himself for the protection of the interests entrusted to his vigilance. My confidential report to the department will recall to your mind the motive and object of my visit to Washington in the Autumn of last year. . . . . I never took a dispatch to the palace and therefore could not have opened one in presence of officers there. [With regard to the charge that he had extended protection to Crawley], I had no intercourse with him either of an official or private nature—and I take occasion here to state in the most emphatic manner—that I have in no instance, without seeking the previous consent of the Department or advising it . . . . of my action, extended protection to a foreigner. [The charges all showed such complete disregard of the facts that they must spring from ignorance,] I shall . . . . offer such an account . . . . as shall satisfy the department that the charge springs from ignorance, if not from some feeling more dangerous if not more culpable than ignorance. . . . . In the negative form, in which the preceding charges are presented my answers must continue to be reduced to mere denial—were the names of those furnished who instigated the "charges" (which words I for the present accept) the department would be enabled to judge of the motives, which prompted them and would do me justice by at once qualifying this attempt to blast my character in the terms it fairly merits.

All this time he had been very busy establishing relations with the new Mexican régime. When the Liberal army entered the capital he turned over to General Diaz a sum of money which he had secured by voluntary loans from resident capitalists. This money was to be used to pay the army, thus warding off the imposition of a forced loan. In turning over the money to Diaz, he assured the latter of his earnest desire to help in the restoration of peace and order. The general expressed his warmest thanks, and at a banquet he gave for Juarez, Otter-

bourg was the only foreign agent invited. Seward wrote to Otterbourg August 8, that, for the present, no claims of American citizens against Mexico were to be pressed without special instructions from Washington. Conditions were too unsettled. It was the wish of the United States to favor, not to hinder, the consolidation of republican institutions. In fact, the financial condition of the country was "more than ordinarily embarrassed," according to the new minister.

The French and Italian diplomats now took their departure; the United States was asked to protect the subjects of foreign powers no longer represented in Mexico, and agreed to do so.

Meanwhile, July 23, two bearers of despatches from the United States had arrived in the City of Mexico, and had delivered to Otterbourg the telegram which advised him of his appointment as minister. While pleased with this recognition of his services, Otterbourg was worn out by the extraordinary exertions of his long years in Mexico, from which his health had suffered seriously, and he badly needed a change of climate. He had already informed the State Department, July 9, that he wished to return at the end of September. His promotion made no change in that desire. He thanked Seward for his appointment, but told him that he was still determined to retire in September.[56] That determination was made possible of fulfillment by the fact that the Senate had not confirmed his nomination, nor had the President pressed it. Just what the reasons were is still largely a mystery. Part of the opposition to him seems to have been due to the fact that he was a Jew. Part of it may have been caused by the charges made by Plumb and others, some of them anonymous.[57] Seward stood by him to the end, and always gave him a chance to refute such implications. Whenever the opportunity offered, the Secretary of State praised his work. For instance, in

[56] *Ibid.*, Otterbourg to F. W. Seward, No. 38; Otterbourg to Seward, No. 43.

[57] *Ibid.*, MSS. Instructions, Seward to Otterbourg, No. 3.

acknowledging Otterbourg's despatches of the 21st and 27th of June, he spoke of them as "careful and voluminous" and said that they contained "important and interesting accounts."

July 16, 1867, Gideon Welles wrote in his diary:

The President is disinclined to appoint Otterbourg, the German, or German Jew, Minister to Mexico, although Seward is very persistent for him. Randall [Postmaster General] originally proposed Otterbourg and would be pleased to have him promoted, but seeing the President's hesitancy, does not press it. Seward, however, holds on vigorously.[58]

We must remember, in this connection, the bitter struggle going on between President Johnson and Congress. Efforts to impeach the President had already begun. This may have been an additional reason for the Senate's failure to confirm Otterbourg's appointment. The name of John A. McClernand, of Illinois, one of the Democratic Union generals of the Civil War, was sent to the Senate as minister to Mexico, and Otterbourg was proposed as secretary of legation. McClernand was rejected and the Senate adjourned July 21, without taking any action on Otterbourg's appointment. The following day Seward informed Otterbourg that according to the terms of his commission as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, that instrument had "expired with the close of the late session." He was, however, to continue to act until further instructions. Several weeks later another despatch from Seward told him that he was no longer minister, as the President had "found it expedient" to nominate John A. McClernand.[59]

August 19, Otterbourg was received in audience by President Juarez. He presented his credentials, which had taken so many weeks to arrive, and spoke of the sympathy of the United States with the triumph achieved through the heroic

[58] Vol. iii, p. 135.

[59] State Dept., Instructions, Seward to Otterbourg, Nos. 6, 14, MS.

constancy of Mexico in her recent struggle for independence. The American government, he said, had "upheld the cause of republicanism, and in it the integrity of Mexico." The president, in replying, expressed great satisfaction in the fact that the United States had "given the weight of their moral support to the cause of republicanism."

General O'Horan, who had been prefect of Mexico City during the empire, was sentenced to death as an enemy of the republic. Remembering that Americans owed him a personal debt, because during all the terror and excitement of the siege he had been ready to protect their flag from insult, Otterbourg asked Juarez to spare his life. The president, however, although anxious to please the representative of the United States, refused to grant a pardon, "in view of serious considerations." General O'Horan was shot at sunrise, August 21. Not long after Otterbourg received a telegram from fourteen ladies of the best families in Queretaro, imploring him to ask Juarez to pardon Severo Castillo, who had been court-martialed at that town. Remembering the fate of General O'Horan, the minister hesitated to invite another rebuff. He therefore merely enclosed the telegram in a brief, cold note to the minister for foreign affairs, and asked him to present it to the president if he regarded "the signatures thereto attached worthy of consideration." Tejada replied at once that the President had already commuted the penalty of Castillo.

Otterbourg now began to prepare for his departure. His mission was at an end. Up to the last minute he was busy attempting to lessen the severity of the Liberals toward their defeated enemies. September 9, he received his passport and duplicates of letters which Tejada had sent to authorities along his homeward route in order to facilitate his journey. Tejada expressed the appreciation of the Mexican government for what Otterbourg had done to strengthen the friendly relations between their two countries. September 21, 1867, Otterbourg

left Mexico and returned to the United States by way of Vera Cruz.

Upon arriving in the United States, Otterbourg and his family took up their residence in New York, henceforth to be their home. The following summer he left his wife and children there while he took a short trip to Europe, spending most of his time with his brothers.

After his return to New York he studied law, and then began to practice it in partnership with Maunsell B. Field. Later, Benjamin F. Russell joined the firm. As a laywer, Otterbourg met with marked success. He had been admitted to the bar but little above a year when he was appointed by Mayor Havemeyer to serve as a police justice for a term of nine years. His nomination was confirmed by the board of aldermen, October 25, 1873. There were eleven police justices in New York at that time. They corresponded roughly to the city magistrates of 1930 except that they also sat in special sessions, three of them at a time. The salary was $8,000 a year. Knowledge of the law was not a requirement although it must have been a great help. The justices sat every other week for an average of three hours a day. Those who were on special sessions service sat about the same number of hours, four days a week. Otterbourg, according to his own statement, was on the bench at least six hours daily. Each year the board of police justices elected one of its members to serve as president. In 1881 Otterbourg was the president. In 1882 when his term expired he was not reappointed, apparently for political reasons.

For years Otterbourg had been an independent in politics. His appointment as police justice was said to have been pressed by Alderman Oswald Ottendorfer. He had constantly fought Tammany Hall and had been active in every election as a leader of voters of German origin or antecedents. In 1878, he had been the nominee for justice of the city court of the German-American independent citizens' union.

In 1883 he went back to the practice of law, this time in partnership with his son, Eugene. For the next ten years he was a picturesque figure in the Yorkville police court. He was of medium height, somewhat stout and well-built; with iron-gray hair that hung in ringlets to his shoulders; a military mustache; and a thoughtful, intelligent face. He usually wore a Mexican sombrero, which attracted much attention, but his manners were those of a cultured gentleman. All who met him were struck by his geniality and his keen sense of humor.

December 2, 1893, Otterbourg became ill. Two days later he developed pneumonia. At 7 o'clock in the morning of the 7th, he died at his home on Lexington Avenue, leaving a widow, three married sons, and an unmarried daughter.

BRET HARTE AND HIS JEWISH ANCESTOR, BERNARD HART.

By Helen I. Davis.

O Prince of Song and Story! Thee we claim
The first and dearest, still our very own!
We will not yield the glory of thy name
Nor share thy laureled throne![1]

Despite the fact that the tribute quoted in part above is by a Californian it bespeaks recognition and praise for an American man of letters who, along with others equally as significant, is only beginning to receive a just evaluation in our literature. It may be that we shall have to look for the deepest appreciation of Bret Harte across the water where no less a critic than J. P. Collins has already caught the spirit of the story-teller in his brief but striking essay on Harte's genius.[2]

It is not the first time that England has discovered Bret Harte, for his career can boast of two biographers, the first of whom is an Englishman.[3] Bret Harte is again in the public eye and

time is catching up with him and doing justice more and more to his achievement in many fields: in the lyric and the parody, in the manipulation of dialect and genre, in a breadth of outlook second to none among his countrymen, and in the preeminence of his genius as a writer of short stories.[4]

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[1] From "Bret Harte," by Ina Coolbrith, appearing originally in the San Francisco *Town Talk*. It was reprinted in *Current Opinion*, July, 1917.

[2] "Bret Harte's Genius," *Nineteenth Century and After*, October, 1924.

[3] T. Edgar Pemberton, "The Life of Bret Harte," New York, 1903.

[4] Collins, *supra*, p. 520. His paper was reprinted in *The Living Age*, December 6, 1924.

It is fitting, therefore, that we concern ourselves with the Jewish antecedents of a man whose Hebrew blood, critics agree,[5] played a recognizable, if indirect, share in the operation of an ingenious mind and consequent talent. American Jews may point with pride to the author of "The Luck of Roaring Camp," admittedly one of the best short stories in the English language. As Collins generously reminds us,

> The Talmud has an axiom that says: "Wisest is he who has learned at his mother's knee," and it was a dash of Dutch and Hebrew blood that explains no little that was puzzling in the artistic sensibility of this hybrid of the West, who so rejoiced in garnishing his truly Latin eloquence with what he called "sabre-cuts of Saxon."[6]

The first to take critical note of the Jewish ancestry of this "Laureate of the Pacific Belt" was Henry Childs Merwin,[7] Harte's American biographer. The early pages of his delightful biography are devoted to Bret Harte's Ancestry.

[5] Even such niggardly appreciation of Harte as that of Professor Pattee concedes "The cosmopolitanism of his native state was his birthright; *his paternal grandfather, Bernard Hart, was pure Hebrew;* his paternal grandmother, Catherine Brett, was pure English; his mother, Elizabeth Ostrander, was pure Dutch." Fred Lewis Pattee, "The Development of the American Short Story," *Harper's,* 1923, p. 221.

[6] Collins, *supra,* p. 519. See *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung,* May 7, 11, and 25, 1902.

[7] "The Life of Bret Harte with Some Account of the California Pioneers," Boston, 1911, Chap. 1. In a footnote, Merwin calls attention to the alteration in the spelling of his last name. "The final *e* was added to Henry Hart's name in the last years of his life, and the family tradition is that this was done to distinguish him from another Henry Hart, who like himself was very active in the political campaign of 1884." According to the Brett Genealogy, "the final *t* of Brett seems to have been dropped because of the persistent confusion of printers. Francis Brett Hart, the author was named in his boyhood, and his relatives and friends called him Frank. Bret Harte he was when Yuba Bill, Jack Hamlin, Col. Starbottle, Truthful James and Bill Nye, Ah Sin and Abner Dean of Angels became conspicuous and imperishable figures in our literature, and Bret Harte he will remain."

Bret Harte had something of a Hebrew look, and not unnaturally so, for he came of mixed English, Dutch and Hebrew Stock. To be exact, he was half English, one quarter Dutch, and one quarter Hebrew. The Hebrew strain also was derived from English soil, so that with the exception of a Dutch great-grandmother all his ancestors emigrated from England, and not very remotely. The Hebrew in the pedigree was his paternal grandfather, Bernard Hart.

We have here, then, given prominence for the first time to the fact of the Jewish ancestry of Bret Harte. There is, however, no lack of substantiation of this important fact, for various other evidence both written and verbal testify to its truth. In the "Brett Genealogy," compiled by L. B. Goodenow in 1915, we find the following:

Bret Harte, as he called himself in his later years, and as the world will ever call him, went to California in 1854, five years after the discoverer of gold had attracted the pioneers. He was eighteen years old then and had had no schooling, to speak of, for nearly five years. He had been a lawyer's office boy and a merchant's clerk, and at least one of his poems had been printed. His mother Eliza Ostrander, and his father, Henry Hart (without the "e"), was the only son, by his first and soon discarded wife, Catherine Brett, of Bernard Hart, who took another wife, of his own race and religion, by whom he had many children. He recognized his son Henry (though in time he had another son of the same name) and contributed somewhat to the support of the boy and his mother. But his second family never knew of their existence, and more than one hundred years passed between the marriage in 1799, of Catherine Brett and Bernard Hart, and the revelation to the world of Bret Harte's close relationship to Emanuel B. Hart and other wealthy and prominent New Yorkers.[8]

In the library of her home in South Orange, N. J., Mrs. Harmon Hart pointed with pride to the painting of her grandfather, Bernard Hart, and spoke with characteristic enthusiasm of her half-relative of literary fame.

Mrs. Eliza C. T. (Harte) Knaufft, a sister of Bret Harte, was survived by a son, Ernest Knaufft, who resided in

[8] Pp. 420, 421.

Brooklyn and was a lecturer on art for the board of education of the City of New York.

According to Gerald Ephraim Hart, a resident of France, Bernard Hart

was a relation of my great-grandfather Ephraim who married Miss Noah, a sister, I believe of the celebrated Major Noah of Revolutionary fame.

Bernard Hart was associated with Ephraim Hart whose name also appears in the charter of incorporation of the New York Stock Exchange.

It is to the life of Harte's paternal grandfather, Bernard Hart, that we now turn. In addition to the artistic influence contributed by his Hebrew blood, the story-teller may well have been inspired by the many-sided, active life of Bernard Hart.

As "The Jewish Encyclopedia"[9] and Merwin record, Bernard Hart was born in England in 1764. According to the marriage contract, written in Hebrew by Gershom Mendes Seixas, minister of Shearith Israel Congregation, between Bernard Hart and his second wife Rebecca Seixas, in 1806, Bernard's father's name was Menahem Hart, and Bernard was born in the city of London.[10]

[9] Vol. vi, p. 241.

[10] Though Bernard Hart was born in London in 1764, there is reason to believe that his family came from Fürth, Germany, that in fact all the English and American Jewish Harts came from Germany, and that the name is a translation, not from Herz (heart), but from Hirsch (hart, malehind), which was also spelt in one Yiddish form Hirz. We encounter the name frequently in eighteenth-century Jewish history in combination with Naphtali, as a German variant thereof, based on Genesis, xlix 21: "*Naphtali* is a *hind* let loose; he giveth goodly words," as in the case of the famous Naphtali Hirz Wessely, friend and disciple of Moses Mendelssohn. See "The Jewish Encyclopedia," *supra,* p. 239; vol. ix, pp. 166-71; as to Wessely, vol. xii, p. 506; *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* No. 28, pp. 102-4. In its biographies of several distinguished members of the Hart family, their German origin and the derivation of the name

At the age of thirteen he came to Canada and, after three years of residence there, settled in New York."[11]

From 1780 until 1786, Mr. Hart, although quite young, was making purchases and sending goods to Canada, for the establishment of his relative, and this he continued to do until he made a commercial house for himself. At that time, 1786, this city had 23,614 population of which 2,103 were blacks, and the taxes £6,100 or about $15,250. If Mr. Hart had lived a few years longer he would have seen them as many millions as they were thousands when he started business. The city had been incorporated just ninety years. Since 1696. Its

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from Hirz, Hirsch, etc., is noted in "The Jewish Encyclopedia," including that of Ephraim Hart, relative of Bernard Hart, born in Fürth in 1747, died in New York, July 16, 1825. The famous Aaron Hart of London, 1670-1756, the first chief rabbi of the German Jewish community, was born in Breslau, and his brother Moses also was a leader of the Community. "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. vi, p. 242f; for particulars regarding the former see Dr. C. Duschinsky, "The Rabbinate of the Great Synagogue, London from 1756-1842," p. 2. In Morais, "Jews of Philadelphia," p. 53 *et seq.*, the father of Abraham Hart of Philadelphia (1810-1885) is stated to have come from Hanover, Germany, in 1804, but I have been unable to trace any blood relationship between the famous publisher, who first issued Thackeray's "Yellowplush Papers" and many other famous works, and the progenitor of Bret Harte. The origin of Bernard's branch of the family, at least, in the well-known German city of Fürth, long a citadel of orthodox Jewish scholarship, is confirmed in L. Lowenstein, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Fürth* in *Jahrbüche der Jüdisch-Literarischen Gessellschaft*, Frankfurt A. M., vol. vi, pp. 153-283; vol. viii, pp. 65-213; vol. x, pp. 49-192. The Jewish community of Fürth of a later day is portrayed by the late Moritz Ellinger in a series of reminiscences, entitled "From the Old to the New," contributed to *The Menorah Monthly*, then edited by him, in 1898 and 1899, including sketches of his own ancestors, of David Einhorn, who was born there, Moritz Kohler, the father of Kaufmann Kohler, Rabbi Simon Bamberger, grandfather of Judge Horace Stern of Philadelphia, etc. See also account of Fürth in Kohler's biography of David Einhorn in the "Einhorn Memorial Volume" pp. 404-7, and in Max J. Kohler's biographical sketch of Dr. K. Kohler in "Studies in Jewish Literature" published in honor of his seventieth birthday, 1903, pp. 1-4.

[11] From Joseph Scoville, "The Old Merchants of New York City."

outskirts were Chambers Street, although there were some scattering farm-houses—among them was that of Mr. Lispenard, who afterwards became a partner of Mr. Hart, under the firm of Lispenard & Hart. Standing where the northwest corner of the Park now is, you could see the chimneys of the dwelling of Mr. Lispenard among the trees, over towards where the Park now ends. . . . .

In 1799 Bernard Hart, despite the fact that he was a devout Jew—his name appears with other pioneer Israelites on the roll of the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue—married Catherine Brett, a descendant of Roger Brett and Catharyna Rombout through a doubtful intermediary generation. Little is known of the facts regarding this strange marriage, for "after living together for a year or less, they separated." One child resulted from this marriage, Henry Hart, born February 1, 1800, who became the father of the story-teller. None of Bernard Hart's descendants on the Hebrew side knew of his marriage to Catherine Brett, until some years after Bret Harte's death.[12]

Members of Bret Harte's family remembered Bernard Hart's occasional visits to the family of Henry Hart, his son by Catharine Brett,[13] whom he assisted with money and

[12] Despite the fact that the record of such a divorce is now lost, it is more than likely that a divorce occurred. Merwin's theory that prominent Jews in New York in Bernard Hart's day could simply have regarded a marriage with a Christian as a nullity, and in the face of it married a Jewess, is most unlikely. There are frequent references to the Harts in *Publications, supra;* see, for example, No. 4, p. 211 (N. Taylor Phillips); *ibid.*, p. 215 *et seq.* (Gustavus N. Hart); No. 25, p. 178 (Leon Huhuer); besides the other references cited in this paper.

[13] A will of Catherine Brett, who died in Dutchess County, New York, indicated that she possessed considerable property. She divided her property among her two sons, Francis and Robert, and her grandchildren Matthew, Francis, Rombout, Sarah, Robert and Theodorus. This is doubtless the great-grandmother of Bret Harte. I am indebted for this information to G. Herbert Cone, by courtesy of Hon. Simon W. Rosendale.

advice so long as he lived. Bret Harte himself remembered being taken to the New York Stock Exchange by his father, who there pointed out to him his grandfather. It may be added that between the descendants of Bernard Harte and Catharine Brett and those of Bernard Hart and Rebecca Seixas there is a marked resemblance.[14]

[14] Merwin, *supra,* p. 7. There seems to have been some doubt as to the statement concerning Bret Harte's memory of his grandfather Clement Shorter made the statement that Bret Harte was of Jewish origin in the pages of *The New York Times* after talking "to Bret Harte's daughter, Miss Ethel Bret Harte, who told him that her father never made a secret, in the home circle, of the fact that he had a Jewish grandfather. His grandfather and grandmother separated soon after his father's birth, and Henry Harte, the poet's father, it seems, lived at odds with his father." Mr. Shorter goes on to say: "Thus Henry Harte never entered, as an adult, his father's house. Bret Harte recalled that he was once taken by his father to the stock exchange in New York, of which his grandfather, Bernard Hart, was the first president, and the old man was pointed out to the young Bret Harte as his grandfather, but he never spoke to him nor saw him again. "This is all very interesting, but scarcely accurate, though we have no doubt whatever of the Jewish origin of Bret Harte and see no reason why anyone should dispute it. But Bernard Hart was not the first president of the New York Stock Exchange. He was, indeed, one of the committee which organized the first exchange office in 1792, and was at that time a broker at No. 55 Broad Street. He was also a member of the committee of reorganization of the New York Stock and Exchange Board in 1817, the practical foundation of the present exchange. His name appears in the minutes reproduced in the first volume of the History of the New York Stock Exchange, edited by Edmund Clarence Stedman, as lately as 1820. It is just possible that Bret Harte once saw this gentleman on the floor of the stock exchange, but Bret Harte was not born until 1839, and Bernard must have been tolerably aged before Bret was old enough to be taken around and shown the sights . . . ." The above appeared in *The New York Times,* February 17, 1906, and was amplified in a statement by Harmon H. Hart, of South Orange, N. J.: "Your correction of the inaccuracy of Mr. Clement Shorter's statement concerning the origin of Bret Harte can be amplified. Bernard Hart, who was my grandfather, was the Secretary of the New York Stock

Henry Hart continued to live with his mother until he entered Union College in Schenectady in 1817.

He remained in college until the end of his Senior year, and passed all his examinations for graduation, but failed to receive his degree because a college bill amounting to ninety dollars had not been paid. The previous bills were paid by his mother Catherine Hart.

Despite this handicap, if it may be so considered, the young man seems to have achieved success as a scholar, speaking French, Spanish and Italian, and being well versed in Greek and Latin.

He passed his short life as school-teacher, tutor, lecturer and translator.

From 1833 to 1834 he was an instructor in the Albany Female Academy, where he taught language and mathematics. For two years he conducted a private school of his own,

but this appears not to have been successful, for he ceased to be a resident of the city in the latter part of 1836, or early in 1837. One event in Henry Hart's life at Albany is significant. In December, 1833, a meeting was held in the mayor's court room to organize a young men's association, which proved to be a great success, and which has played an important part in the life of the city down to the present day. Henry Hart, though a comparative stranger in Albany, was chosen to explain the objects of the association at this meeting, and at the next meeting he was elected one of the managers. When Bret Harte came east from California, he went to Albany and addressed the association, upon the invitation of its members.[15]

In 1830 Henry Hart married Elizabeth Rebecca Ostrander, daughter of Henry Philip Ostrander whom Bret Harte makes the hero of his story, "Two Americans." The family was

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Exchange from 1831 to 1853 consecutively. He was born in London, 1764, and came to this country when about 10 years old. He was married in 1806, and had ten children, four daughters and six sons. All but one of his sons married; of his daughters only one married. None of his sons or daughters are now living." The writer is indebted to Mrs. Constance (Harmon H.) Hart for the use of the material cited above.

[15] Merwin, *supra,* p. 10. For the final item I am indebted to G. Herbert Cone.

of Dutch and English extraction. Henry Hart had been brought up in the Dutch Reformed faith but, soon after leaving college, strangely enough, became a Catholic. Mrs. Hart was an Episcopalian, a faith which it is likely their children followed.

The life of the story-teller's parents after Albany was one of discomfort and disillusionment. From Albany, they moved to Hudson, N. Y., where Henry Hart directed an academy, and later years found them living in New Brunswick, N. J., Philadelphia, Providence, Lowell and Boston. After her husband's death, Mrs. Hart remained with her family in New York and Brooklyn until 1853, where they were cared for by the combined interests of the Ostranders and Bernard Hart.

Of the short life of Bernard Hart and his Christian wife little is known, save that after the separation Mrs. Hart was supported by her husband, but had no other relation with him. He was always remembered for his generosity to friends and relatives, a quality which his granddaughter related was responsible for a considerable diminishing of his worldly goods when, from time to time, he was obliged to pay the debts of those for whose notes he had generously become a surety. A very unusual collection of English plate was in this manner dissipated and its loss was still remembered with regret by this enthusiastic descendant.

In 1806 Bernard Hart married Rebecca B. Seixas, daughter of Benjamin Mendes Seixas. The ceremony was performed by Rev. Gersham Mendes Seixas,[16] a brother of Benjamin M. Seixas, and there is every reason to believe that husband and wife shared a life of genuine peace and happiness.

As a husband, he was devotedly attached to the companion of his choice—as a father, fond, and indulgent, ruling his children by love, and receiving from them in return that reverence and affection which rendered declining years unqualifiedly happy.

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[16] For record of this marriage and connections of the Seixas family see *Publications, supra,* No. 27, pp. 75, 162, 163.

Correspondence that the writer has had with surviving grandchildren substantiated in every respect these words of tribute. He survived in their memory as a venerable man of quiet dignity and noble impulses.

The bride was one of eight sisters, all of whom

> were famous for their wonderful beauty and exceeding loveliness, both in person and character. . . . . Men talked of it half a century afterward.

Mrs. Hart was not an exception.[17]

Definite statements by highly respected contemporaries testify to the nobility of character and sensitive social consciousness of Bernard Hart. Among the earliest of these is the frequently quoted one of Scoville. Writing of Bernard Hart in the year 1795, he said:

> In 1795 he resided and did business at No. 100 Water Street. That was the year the yellow fever raged so fearfully; 732 died. Although 2,086 died in 1798—yet was not so horribly fearful to the citizens as in 1795, for then they had got used to it. It was not a new pestilence. Mr. Hart and Mr. Pell of the firm of Pell & Ferris, who kept store at 108 Water Street, a few doors from Mr. Hart, were unceasing in their exertion—night and day, hardly giving themselves time to sleep and eat; they were among the sick and dying, and relieving their wants, and were angels of mercy in those awful days of the first great pestilence.
>
> Two years before, in 1792, Mr. Hart had become a member of the St. George's Society, reëstablished in 1786, and he was a constant watcher on the health of the few members of that society in the sickly season of 1795.

Jonas B. Phillips, who was assistant district attorney at the time of Bernard Hart's death and a frequent contributor to

[17] Charles P. Daly, "Settlement of the Jews in the United States," edited by Max J. Kohler, 1893, p. 55. According to Mrs. Harmon Hart, in whose vivid memory Rebecca Hart was still an active and revered figure, practically the entire Congregation of which the Seixas family belonged, stopped at the Hart residence after services to pay homage to this gracious lady. By all, she was characterized as Aunt Hart.

New York newspapers, in his appreciation of the venerable citizen, his friend, emphasized his integrity.

A distinguished trait in the character of our friend was his scrupulous regard to truth—falsehood could find no existence in his heart, or utterance from his lips, and he was never known to speak in terms of distraction of a human being. . . . . Sincere in his friendships, faithful to all the trusts which he was called upon to discharge, there was "a daily beauty in his life" which won for him the affection and respect of all who knew him, and rendered his existence a model worthy of universal imitation.[18]

In 1813, Bernard Hart left the Lispenards and went into business under his own name at No. 86 Water Street, and lived at No. 24 Cedar Street. In 1818, he went into Wall Street, and as a mark of his ability and integrity was elected secretary of the board of brokers, receiving no salary for his services and retaining the office until old age prevented further activity. That his services were valuable and deeply appreciated is seen from the expression of sympathy which the board wrote to his widow upon his death:

New York Stock and Exchange
Board, 20th July, 1855.

Mrs. Rebecca Hart.

Madam.—At the 1st session of the board this day, the death of your late husband was announced by the president, and the following resolutions unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the board have heard with deep regret of the death of their late venerable Secretary Bernard Hart.

Resolved, That the board sympathise with the relatives of the deceased under the afflicting bereavement.

To these resolutions I beg to add the expressions of my heartfelt sorrow for the death of him who was my predecessor in office, and whose age and virtues commanded my veneration and esteem.

With great respect

G. H. Broadhead.[19]

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[18] *The Asmonean,* February 3, 1855, p. 125.

[19] Secretary of the board. Resolution annexed to tribute previously cited from *The Asmonean.*

Yet, with all his social activities and commercial enterprise, Bernard Hart was a devout Jew. His name, as does that of his wife, appears frequently in the records of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue.[20]

The name of Emanuel B. Hart stands out in high relief in the annals of American politics. He was born in New York, October 29, 1809, and lived a life of rich activity, dying in 1897. At an early age he became a member of the volunteer fire department of New York in engine company No. 9, where he was a faithful servant for five years. His political career began when he joined the ranks of the Jacksonian Democracy as challenger in the memorable election of 1832. Three years later he was elected alderman of the fifth ward, subsequently reëlected, and refused a third nomination. As a delegate to the Democratic state convention he continued his political interests, becoming chairman of the Tammany general committee in 1849. His growing popularity was crowned with an election to Congress in 1851 with a large majority. Later he served as surveyor of the port of New York under Buchanan and was requested by President Lincoln to continue his office at the expiration of his term. He performed a valuable service to the United States Treasury in 1860 by revealing frauds in the revenue and, due to his report, a number of important reforms were instigated. Later he had the honor of the offer of the nomination for Congress from New York but declined, accepting, however, that for presidential elector in 1868. In 1869 Emanuel B. Hart was made commissioner of immigration, serving later as alderman, excise commissioner, and disbursing agent at the New York Custom House. He was for a long term president of Mount Sinai Hospital, and occupied various offices in the Hebrew Relief Society and the Home for the Aged and Infirm. Charles

[20] *Publications, supra,* No. 27, pp. 50, 51, 55, 65, 66, 77, 86, 89, 110, 111, 164.

P. Daly in his " Settlement of the Jews in the United States " mentioned Bernard Hart's prominence in post-Revolutionary New York because of his fatherhood of Emanuel B. Hart.[21]

Bernard Hart's son Henry, not to be confused with Bret Harte's father by the same name, died early in life, unmarried. Benjamin was a broker in New York, while David was a teller in the Pacific Bank, and proved his patriotism by fighting at Bull Run. Both Theodore and Daniel Hart were merchants in New York.

[21] *Supra,* pp. 55, 56. I am greatly indebted to Max J. Kohler for his continuous counsel and assistance to me in the preliminary work and preparation of this paper.

NOTES.

Hebrew in the Schools of Colonial America.

Hebrew had a well-established place in the curricula of the colonial colleges. It is not generally known, however, that this "holy language" was taught also in the lower schools. That it was offered, here and there in the colonies, is evident in the school announcements of the period.

According to a notice of 1723,

> There is a School in New York, in the Broad Street, near the Exchange, where Mr. John Walton, late of Yale-Colledge, Teacheth . . . . the Latin Tongue, the Greek and Hebrew Grammers.[1]

In 1759, John William Kals, minister of the Gospel, lately from North Branch, N. J., advertised a

> School at the House of Mrs. Pane . . . . in the Broad-Way, New York, where he proposes to teach . . . . the following Languages, viz. Latin and Greek; likewise the Oriental Languages, as the Hebrew, Arabick, Chaldean and Syriac.[2]

Instruction in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew was given also by John Henry Goetschius, A. M., Dutch minister at Hackensack and Schralenburg, N. J., 1749;[3] Rev. Mr. Graham, of Rumbout Precinct, Dutchess County, N. Y., 1755;[4] and Philip Keyl, in Second Street, Philadelphia, 1766.[5]

Hebrew was not only an indispensable tool of the trained minister of the time, it was also a part of the equipment of all who would read

[1] *American Weekly Mercury,* Oct. 17-24, 24-31, 31-Nov. 1, 1723. Walton (A. B., Yale, 1720) advertised in a Philadelphia newspaper that was popular in New York at the time. There were no New York papers until 1725.

[2] *New York Mercury,* June 18, 1759. Kals came from London in 1756. In the following year he became pastor of the "Calvinistical High Dutch Congregation" of Amwell, N. J. See also *Pennsylvania Gazette,* Feb. 8, 1759.

[3] *New York Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post Boy,* Nov. 13, 20, 27, Dec. 4, 18, 25, 1749; Jan. 1,, 8, 1750. Goetschius was one of the governors and trustees of Queen's (Rutgers) College, at the time of its establishment, 1766. See *New York Journal or General Advertiser,* Apr. 16, 1767.

[4] *New York Mercury,* May 19, June 2, 1755.

[5] *Pennsylvania Gazette,* Nov. 27, 1766.

the Old Testament in its original tongue. The public schools of colonial America made no attempt to supply the instruction that was necessary. It remained for the private schools to satisfy the demand.

ROBERT FRANCIS SEYBOLT.

ITEMS FROM THE OLD MINUTE BOOK OF THE SEPHARDIC CONGREGATION, OF HAMBURG, RELATING TO THE JEWS OF BARBADOS.

5428 [1668], 4. Ab, pag. 386:

Em 4 Pediou as^{ra} Clara Jezurun V^{a} dos^{r} H: Ischack jezurun ס'כ & sua Petisaõ q pois setia Carregada com opezo de hua grande familia eja 2 filhos homés, e passando grandez mizerias determinaua mandar seos 2 filhos abraham e jaacob para barbadas ó serinhão [Surinam] p^{a} q como homes buscasem sua vida enão lhe acresenta sem suas mizerias epor q^{to}: lhe faltauão os meios de podelos despachar e emcaminhar pedia á o mahamad desem algú socorro, para este Efeito oq Visto p omahamad lhes pareceo q não Soó assertaua dita s^{ra} nesta Resulusão mas q tambem selhedeuia conseder a ajuda q pedia, easy lhe ordenarão M.100 para seu aViam^{to}:

5430, 6. Tisri, pag. 428:

Pede asenora Saraiua antesipasao de seu tamid p respeito mandar seu filho abarbados y en falta dolho quereren dar daria p fiador aseu Irmão Ishac da fonseca respondeu selhe q onao podiaõ faser p aescama feita o anno pasado.

5430, 11 de Tisri, pag. 429:

taõben setratou s^{o} a finta de abrão Gomez q estaua departida debarbados refusa pagar disendo naõ ser aqui morador sendo seu propio sogro fes esta escama y se Custuma apagar muitos atrasados os q serão datera a modo dos escotes a Cargo ficou dosenor arao Sinior obuscar dita escama y aos^{r} presidente ofalharlhe aq Page.

5430, 24. Tisri, pag. 432:

. . . . ditto senor Pede aestes senores q. asenora saraiua lhe tornou afalar pera q. lhes fose terseiro de q. selhe dese ayuda pera mandar seu filho abarbados y respeito de q he bon tirar Mosos osiosos daterra pareseu odarlhe R 10.—Con espresa Condisaõ q naõ torne atera en tempo de 2 a oq selhe descontara doseu tamid.

5430, 16. Hesv., pag. 440:

16 Ditto apareseu aesta messa Jacob frasão oqual relatou opleito q tina Josef Jusurun Contra elle Causado de hua Caregasaõ q dis lhe mandou Jusurun abarbadas deq agora pera 2 de Nouenbro he sitado y

Como Ditto frasão pera sua de fensa pretende metter hun papel algo liure Contra Simon Jusurun aomamad meterse de p meio aq isto nã fose a guizo dattera y metellos en nouos gastos aq ostais se Comprometão ou bein entre os senores gagamim o guises albritos q se nomeariaõ de tudo se deu parte taõ ben a Josef Jusurun oqual dis q enquanto aopleito q tinha Con asenora viuua ester de Caseres desde logo se sugeitaua & aoq tinha Con Jacob frasaõ si p a Caso na Canselaria de Gelustat [Glückstadt, in Schleswig-Holstein] senao oiuese dado sentensa final taõ ben se sugeitaria aq estes senores quisesen a frasão selhe foi re ferido tudo oariba ditto y q per nhun modo metese nouos papeis Contra ditto Jusurun ate ver oq saie da ditta Canselaria real.

5432, R. H. Hesvan, pag. 508:

Sobre opleito de simon Jessurun contra Jacob frazão en virtude do poder que ambos derao ao mahamad resolveo, em presenza dosH. Mosse Israel, dispois de considerar as resões de hua e outra parte por evitar mais escandalos ordenar aJacob frazão q pague aditto Jessurun em termo de 15.dias asomade M. 150-di° corrente, por todas pretensões que neste pleito possa ter, tocante as espesiarias, Perlas, emais, q leuou a Barbadas, e todos os gastos pertensentes addito Pleito de' que dara Jesurun quitança a frazão na forma q elle pedir, e for rezão.

5435, 6. Tamuz, pag. 610:

Havendose mandado chamar a Jacob Fidanque como Procurador da V^a^ de Aron Senior e sua f^a^ se lhe preguntou acausa de hũ protesto q mandou fazer aos herdeiros de Aron e D. Senior, que naõ fizessem entre si ninhu acordo sem lho comunicarem, e respondeo que era p elle auer achado no testam° de Aron Senior, cuja copia autentica pello notario, presentou, que nomeava p seus erdeiros como aqual quer de seus f^os^ a V^a^ Sua mulher efilha, e que assi nada podiaser valioso sem seo consentimento, e alem disso se esperava viesse Rephael Senior de Barbadas que tambẽ podia falar como erdeiro, veyo Abram Senior, edaclarou que para o q toca aseu Ir° Jacob Rephael Senior[6] de Barb^as^ se obrigara por elle, e em quanto aV^a^ e filhas de Aron Senior, ja se avia firmado compromisso entre ellas e elles Ab. e David Senior s^re^ o testamento, e assi qse os juizes declarassem, ficarem sendo aV^a^ e filhas herdeiras, todos firmarão para servalido oq entre si acordarem, e em falta ficarão elles som^te^ sendo herdeiros ese obrigarão a responder p seu Irmão de Barbadaz.

[6] Jb. Senior is the same person who went in 5418 to Serepique, see No. 17 (1909). Is. Habilho, Jb. Mendes, see No. 23 (1915).

5436, 17 Tisri, pag. 618:

Socorro: aV[a] de Dauid Israel — Veo Amulher de Dauid Israel q Ds. tem Pidir hua aJuda p[a] aVeage que quer faser p[a] Martinicos e Considerando naõ auer esta s[ra] ocupado atteagora anassao ordenaraõ selhedem 40 R.

5436, 6 Jiar, pag. 631:

Ishack sarayua Pediu selhe desse algũ socorro p[a] se auiar p[a] hir abarbados, ordenou selhedem em Londres 20 R.

5437, 12. Ijar, pag. 670:

Socorro a Simson Habilho p[a] seIr — Fes Representar em Junta abigail Habilla como auia reducido aseu f° Simson q se passase abarbadas em consideraçaõ de q, omaamad odezejou mas que naõ tinha con q auialo ep q[to] omaamad dezeja Limpar aterra demoços vadios decretou selhe dessen R.10. de socorro etc. etc.

Alfonso Cassuto.

Notice.[7]

Having had a dispute with Dr. Edward Chisolm and feeling myself insulted by an illiberal expression made by him, I applied to a gentleman of respectability and honorable feeling, to call on Dr. Edward Chisolm, and to demand an apology. If this was not promptly given, then to demand the only redress that Honor has long established is the practice in these cases. Dr. Chisolm, through his friend, answered that he would give me no satisfaction and that I was not on a footing with him because I was a Jew, nor did he conceive any Jew to be on a footing with him. As such a subterfuge as this marks the individual, not only with illiberality and ignorance, but with Cowardice, it therefore becomes my painful duty to intrude these remarks on the public, in order to expose him to the community in which I live, the place of my nativity.

The Constitution of the United States, and of my native State, give me and every citizen, of every religious denomination, equal rights and equal privileges. Religious distinctions are not known in this country. Members of the same community are valued only according to their conduct in life, and none but a bigot and a Coward, like Edward Chisolm, would attempt to insult a whole nation, by refusing that satisfaction which every gentleman is ready to give and to receive.—G. P. Cohen, Charleston, S. C., July 25, 1827.

August Kohn.

[7] Advertisement from *The Courier*, July 26, 1827, p. 3, col. 3.

Autos-de-fe Celebrated by the Mexican Inquisition, 1648.

1. Juan Mendez, aged 35 years.
2. Jorge Ramirez de Montilla, aged 31 years.
3. Melchor Rodriguez Lopez, aged 40 years.
4. Doña Ana Juarez, aged 25 years.
5. Ana Nuñez, aged 13 years.
6. Antonia Nuñez, aged 15 years.
7. Doña Beatriz Enriquez, aged 29 years.
8. Doña Ana Blanca Juarez, aged 22 years.
9. Clara Nuñez, aged 23 years.
10. Diego Rodriguez Arias, aged 45 years.
11. Francisco Lopez Diaz, aged 41 years.
12. Jorge Jacinto Bazan, aged 38 years.
13. Leonor Martinez, aged 14 years.
14. Manuel de Acosta, *alias* Francisco de Torres, aged 29 years.
15. Manuel de Mella, aged 54 years.
16. Doña Micaela Enriquez, aged 34 years.
17. Doñá Rafaela Enriquez, aged 42 years.
18. Rafael de Sobremonte, aged 16 years.
19. Sebastian Cardoso, aged 56 years.
20. Simon de Leon, aged 17 years.
21. Violante Xuarez, aged 36 years.
22. Francisco de Leon Jaramilla, aged 22 years.

Alfonso Cassuto.

Lewis Abraham.

Lewis Abraham, publicist and communal worker, was born in London, 1825 and died December 30, 1903. He came to Cincinnati with his parents at the age of sixteen and after living there and in San Francisco for some years, he moved to Washington, D. C., in 1869, where he became a member of the bar, specializing in patent law until his death there. He was active in the Independent Order B'nai B'rith, and president of district No. 2, 1866-7, as also in the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, serving as secretary of the board of delegates on civil and religious rights for many years. From 1854 until his death he was a contributor to *The American Israelite* under the name *Sopher*. He contributed papers on early

American presidents and the Jews and the relations of Jews to national monuments to the *Publications* of this Society (No. 3, 1895), wrote a paper, "The Jewish American as a Politician" for the *American Jews' Annual,* 1888, containing much valuable information not elsewhere obtainable, and contributed a valuable series of articles to *The American Israelite,* October 24, 1879 to March 12, 1880, "Religious and Ecclesiastical Laws—A Compilation of the Religious and Ecclesiastical Laws of the Several States of the Union and of the United States. Together with Comments Thereon by Expounders of the Constitution and Decisions of the Courts on Kindred Subjects."[8]

M. J. K.

A Hessian Tax-Roll of 1811.

Witzenhausen,[9] den 26. Februar, 1811.
Ew. W. d. 28. Februar, 1811.

Zur Vertheilungsrolle von obigen Datum.
Anhang oder Bericht.

An Herrn Cantons Maire Hüpeden allhier!

Das angeheftete Acta beweist schon wie mit Vorsicht und genauer Pünktlichkeit die Vertheilung von sämtlicher Vertheilungs-Gelieder beobachtet wurde, ich verfehle aber nicht Ew. Wohlgeborenen den Grundsatz welchen ich mir zur Vertheilung angenommen habe, zu eröffenen, und dieser war hauptsächlich auf dem Gewerbe, den Natürlicher weise kan einer der ein stark Gewerbe treibt mehr beytragen als einer der ein schwaches hat, oder gar keins, wenn letzterer auch wirklich vermögender wäre, und der zweyte Grundsatz wahr, auf einen mehr oder weniger besizende Famillie, ich detailligire daher alle die einzelne Individien, und mache über ein jeden meine Bemerkung besonders als, Jacob Levy Löwenthal & Sohn, führen ein starkes Gewerbe von Spinerey Waaren, und eine starke Collecte Lotterie Loose, und führen ein Compagnie Handell, mithin sind solche als zwey Famillien Häupter zu betrachten, und besizen nur ein Kind, ist also 25 R/Th.[10] ein billiger Ansatz,

[8] Necrology in *The American Israelite,* January 7, 1904, pp. 4 and 7.

[9] In Hessen-Cassel. At the time this letter was written, and until 1813, it belonged to the Bonapartist Kingdom of Westphalia.

[10] Reichstaler.

Asser Kayser, führt ein starkes Waarenlager und hat gar kein Kind, weilen solcher aber sein Handel auswärths führt ist solcher nur mit 15 R/Th. besteuert,

Lazarus Cahn, ist abgebrand, und hat sich den Ansatz als Vertheilungs Mitglied selbsten genehmigt, sonsten wird man ihm einige Thaler weniger besteuert haben,

Israel Isenbergs Witwe hat 2 Söhne welche den Pferde Handel treiben sind durch ihren Vatters Kunden renomirt und ist also der Ansatz von 12½ Th. billig,

Lucas Goldschmidt, David Goldschmidt und Allexander Kayser beziehen alle drey die Braunschweiger und Naumburger Messe, und führen starkes Waarenlager, mithin sind solche alle drey mit 12½ R/Th. sehr billig angesetzt, Herz Grünthal welcher keine Messe beziehet hättet gegen diese billigerweise einige R/Th. müssen geringer angesetzt werden allein weilen solcher ein Sohn und ein armen Schwiegersohn welche für ihm handeln und die Mehrheit der Stümmen der Vertheilungs Commission darauf bestanden wurde solcher mit den nehmlichen Ansatz mit 12½ R/Th. bestädigt,

Eiseman Moses Frenkel,[11] treibt gar kein Handel sondern ist bey sein Schwiegervatter als Gehülfe und blos von sein geringen Vermögen ist er mit obige mit 12½ R/Th. gleichgesetzt,

J. S. Brandes hat kein Handel und auch kein Vermögen, blos aber weil solcher eine Pension als ehemaliger Rabbinner jährlich 100 Thaler erhält ist solcher mit dem Minimum[12] angesetzt,

G. S. Brandes, J. Goldschmidt, S. Stern, W. Oppenheim, R. Oppenheim, A. Kayser. Diese sechs handeln sämtlich mit Waaren und sind demnach sämtlich nur mit dem Minimum angesetzt,

Meyer Stein konntet höher gesetzt werden wan er kein Ausländer wäre, und ist ihm das Minimum blos wegen seiner Ehefrau, welche eine hiesige Schutzjude Tochter ist angesetzt,

Hersch Barleben, und Simon M. Ballin, ernähren sich reichlich, durch ihren Trendel Handel, und können sich gewiss bey den Ansatz des Minimums nicht beschwöhren,

[11] The son-in-law of the writer, who, as a condition of being accepted as his daughter's husband, adopted his surname.

[12] Twelve and one-half Reichstaler.

Loeb. Oppenheim, weilen solcher ein Waaren Handel so gut wie andere führt, und noch unverheirathet ist, folglich ist solcher billig angesezt, indem er nur 1 Th. mehr als Minimum giebt,

David Geissel Trephs Witwe & Söhne welche ein Schlacht Gewerbe und Viehe Handel treiben das Fleisch aber mehrentheils auswärts verkaufen müssen so konten solche nicht über das Minimum gesezt werden;

Endlich kome ich, mir wurden von der Vertheilungs Commission nicht mehr als 35 Th. angesezt, wie wir aber am Ende summirten so fehlten an der Summe von 378 Th welche das hiesige Syndicat auf bringen musste noch 12 Th, sämtliche Commission beschloss, diese noch auf die einzelne Individien einzutheilen, allein ich wolte solche nicht noch mehr drucken, und ich übernahm freywillig diese 12 R/Th. noch auf mich, dass ich also anstatt 35 nunmehr mit 47 R/Th. angesetzt bin;

Es können daher keine gründliche Reclamationen stattfinden, jedoch habe ich nicht ermangelt umstehende Proclamation in der Synagoge öffentlich bey Einleitung den Sabbath als den 22. Februari abends durch d. Herrn Cantor Stettenheimer[13] alhier bekant machen zu lassen, unter von demselben die gehörige attestirte Bescheinigung, übrigens habe ich die Ehre mit hochachtungsvollen Respect zu beharren

Euer Wohlgeboren gehorsamster
[Moses Jakob] Frenkel.

Oeffentliche Bekanntmachung an hiesige Issraelittische Gemeinde allhier.

Meine Herrn!

Die Vertheilungs Commission hat ihr Geschäft wegen den an der vorige Regierung schuldige, und von der jezigen Regierung gekündigten 15,000 R/Th an der hessische Issraelittische Corporation beendigt, und ist ein jeden sein Ansatz oder Ertrag hierzu regulirt, die Vertheilungsrolle an Herrn Cantons Maire alhier ausgehändigt, es kan also ein jeder sein Ansatz bey Herrn Cantons Maire in Erfahrung bringen, und welcher glaubt gegründete Reclamation zu machen hat, solche bey eben dieselben binnen acht Tagen einzureichen, nach Ablauf diesen Frist finden aber keine Reclamationen statt, der Herr Cantor

[13] Of all those mentioned in this letter only one family, Trephs, now Trepps, still (1929) resides in Witzenhausen. The Stettenheimer, now Stettenheim, family now resides in New York.

Stettenheimer allhier wird befohlen dieses bei ein leitung des Sabbaths bekannt zu machen, und darüber zu bescheinigen, Witzenhausen, den 20ten Februari 1811.

Der Syndikus

[Moses Jakob] Frenkel.

Vorstehendes habe ich beym ein gang des Sabbath unterm zweyundzwanzingsten dieses bekant gemacht welches bescheinige

I. Stettenheimer.

Witzenhausen den 26. Februar 1811.

Emil Frenkel.

As to the Supposed 18th Century Translation into Hebrew of Washington's Correspondence with Hebrew Congregations.

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, in connection with its Convention of 1876, arranged to have all the delegates go to Mount Vernon, and there Isaac M. Wise planted a tree near Washington's tomb. He, Dr. Max Lilienthal, Lewis Abraham and Simon Wolf delivered appropriate addresses; Dr. Wise's was particularly fine in enlarging on Jewish influences upon the foundation of our republic. Mr. Abraham read the correspondence between Washington and the Hebrew Congregations in the United States, published in the *United States Gazette,* 1790; and Mr. Wolf made the interesting observation that this Washington correspondence had been translated into Hebrew and published nearly 100 years before (apparently soon after 1790), and in consequence had aroused much interest in Europe and Asia.

The addresses were published in pamphlet form by the Union in 1876, and as an appendix to the annual report for this year. I have made inquiries of several persons regarding this translation into Hebrew, including Dr. Joshua Bloch, Dr. J. Schapiro of the Library of Congress, Dr. S. Zeitlin of Dropsie College, Rev. Dr. Abraham Simon, Dr. H. G. Enelow and Simon Wolf's widow and son-in-law, Meyer Cohen, but without yielding any results. Dr. Bloch examined the files of *Ha Measseff,* but in vain. Nor were J. D. Eisenstein or Prof. Alexander Marx able to confirm such supposed publication, though Prof. Marx advises me that

in 1897 M. S. Raisin published a Hebrew translation of these letters from Mr. Wolf's book in *Ner Ha'Maarabi,* vol. ii, pp. 74-75 and 137-140, without any reference to an earlier translation.

Max J. Kohler.

Jacob Henriques.

Some time ago I came across in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America a curious copy of a Sephardic prayer book, donated by the late Judge Mayer Sulzberger. This *Siddur,* revised by Samuel Rodriguez Mendes and Jacob da Silva Mendes, was printed for the second time in London, 1810. A clergyman who evidently was in possession of this prayer book had it bound with several early English and American publications, such as the *British Magazine,* March, 1761, the *Westminster Magazine,* November, 1785, the *New Lady's Magazine,* February, 1786, "Pastoral Letter of Archbishop Marechal to the Roman Catholicks of Norfolk, Virginia," Baltimore, 1819.

In the first-mentioned journal, p. 157, there is a petition to the king by one Jacob Henriques of the celebrated Henriques family, concerning which several references may be found in the *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*[14] and many more in the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society.*[15]

Inasmuch as this petition, which is found in an out of the way periodical, seems to have escaped the notice of students of Anglo-Jewish history, it occurred to me that it might be interesting to reprint the text.

The following Address was humbly delivered by Mr. Jacob Henriques, into the King's own Hand, at the Parliament House, on the 19th instant.

Wrote by Himself. A private, humble Address, to the best of Kings, George the Third, &c. &c.

May it please the King,

That admidst the throng of loyal and dutiful addresses presented by his faithful subjects, a veteran, for the credit and honour of the British nation, with all imaginable respect, presumes to approach his royal person, ever bearing in memory the glorious revolution, happy for these kingdoms and all Europe. In that period my late honoured father projected the Bank of England.

"The race not being always to the swift, not the battle to the strong; but time and chance happening to all"; by various dispensations of Divine Providence, after using every honest and laudable endeavour, gruding no talent or expence for the public service, find myself so circumstanced, that

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[14] 1899, p. 66; 1908, p. 6, 9, 10; 1910, p. 45; 1915, p. 110, 129; 1922, p. 66; 1924, p. 250; also "The Jewish Enclyclopedia," vol. vi, pp. 347-348; Henriques, "The Return of the Jews to England," pp. 2, 56, 97, 106, 123; Albert M. Hyamson, "The History of the Jews in England," p. 174.

[15] See index volume, *s. v.*

with the greatest humility I most earnestly entreat your majesty's royal favour, so as to enable me to pass through the few remaining days of my pilgrimage with less solicitude, affording me some relief from the cares and anxieties of this life, that I may be fitter to prepare for my last great change, which at the fartherest cannot be far off. I have seven daughters to maintain. Hitherto my sorrows and disappointments have been many and frequent; but if what I now offer, with the most profound reverence, shall incline your majesty on mature deliberation to consider me, my grey hairs will not go down sorrowing to the grave, and my eyes will be closed in peace.

May health, honour, glory, and every felicity, attend your sacred person, is the hearty wish of

Your Majesty's most dutiful, most humble, and devoted servant and subject,

Jacob Henriques, born 1683.

Boaz Cohen.

Charles P. Steinmetz and His Jewish Descent.

The remarkable and beneficent career of the "electrical wizard" is treated in an interesting manner in a biography of him by John W. Hammond, published in 1924. It was no easy task thus to popularize a narrative of technical scientific discoveries, and the author wisely found place for the human side of this remarkable career, and interspersed his book with many anecdotes. Next to Edison, Steinmetz is the greatest name in the history of electricity in America; he revolutionized the industry, and did much to improve the life of the individual all over the world. No fewer than 195 patents were taken out by him, though his most important discoveries were: (1) his law of hysteresis, (2) his theory of alternating current calculation, and (3) his invention of a system of alternating current distribution. Landing here in May, 1889, at the age of 24, without a penny, this little deformed creature was first debarred by the immigration authorities as likely to become a public charge; yet only thirteen years later President Charles W. Eliot, in conferring an honorary degree upon him, hailed him as "the foremost electrical engineer in the United States and, therefore, in the world."

I am chiefly interested in the question, whether the current belief that he was of Jewish descent is true. At first blush Hammond seems to demolish the theory, to which he does not even refer, for he says (p. 6) that Steinmetz was born of German Protestant parents, and (p. 42) refers to his confirmation as a boy in the Lutheran church in Breslau, to which his family belonged. It is, however, almost impossible to believe that a non-Jewish lad in Germany, primarily

interested in mathematics, would have studied Hebrew, as is stated by Hammond (p. 37), and he also concedes that Steinmetz's father, as well as Steinmetz himself, was quite indifferent to religion. His father's name was Carl Heinrich Steinmetz, whose own father, Carl Steinmetz, had been an inn-keeper in the Polish town of Ostrowo; the father of the "wizard," about five years before his birth, moved to Breslau, and married a resident of that place, Caroline Neubert, who, however, died about a year after the birth of her distinguished son. Few of the associates of Charles P. Steinmetz seem to have been Jews, and there were comparatively few of that faith while he lived in Yonkers, N. Y., or when he moved to Schenectady, where he achieved fame. We can thus understand how he became weaned away from his ancestral faith, and his adopted son was a Unitarian, as was also all this son's family. The obituary of him which appeared in *The American Hebrew,* November 2, 1923 (p. 667), was written by Dr. Louis C. Lowenstein, a consulting engineer of the General Electric Company, who was well acquainted with Steinmetz, and, partly on the basis of information obtained from him, this necrology was accompanied by an editorial note, which read:

Steinmetz never denied his partially Jewish antecedents, but he never actively affiliated himself with any denominational organization.

In a series of articles by Herman Jacobsohn, "Contemporary Jewish Genius" in *The Reform Advocate,* that published February 2, 1924, was devoted to him, and he was constantly referred to as a Jew by race, particularly during his candidacy for State Engineer of New York State during the autumn of 1923. It is true that, in answer to an inquiry, he himself wrote a guarded letter published in *The Trumpet,* a Jewish monthly journal of Schenectady (January, 1924), under date of December 8, 1922, saying: "I do not belong to the Jewish faith," but the biography under consideration shows that he was in the habit of using the term "faith" in a technical sense, and disavowed identification with any "faith." The subject of his relation to religion is treated in a chapter entitled "What Steinmetz Thought of Religion" (pp. 444-460), and reprints an address he delivered before the Unitarian Church of Schenectady, November, 1922 (just before the cited letter was written) on "The Place of Religion in Modern Scientific Civilization," in which he once more declared himself an agnostic, but emphasized the fact that there is no necessary conflict between science and theism.

M. J. K.

Abraham Phillips, U. S. N.

Abraham Phillips, the son of Jacob Phillips and Hannah Isaacks, was born in New York, March 24, 1788. He spent much of his youth at sea, his father trading in the West Indies. After the death of his mother, March 8, 1798 in Martinique, he and his sisters were taken by his father to South Carolina and up to the breaking out of the War of 1812 against Great Britain he lived in the city of Charleston. The brief story of his life is told by five documents, copies of which have been deposited in the collections of this Society.

The first is the page of his father's *Haftorah,* a volume published in 1644 by Proops of Amsterdam, on which is entered the date of his birth together with that of his sisters. This volume is in the writer's possession.

On June 18, 1812, the same day on which Congress declared war against Great Britain, he applied for and was given appointment as a midshipman in the United States Navy. On November 2, 1812 he received from the Navy Department his warrant as midshipman dated June 18, 1812, and an order to report to the frigate *Constellation.* The letter transmitting the warrant is the second[16] document.

On the same day, November 2, 1812, he accepted the appointment. His letter of acceptance and oath of allegiance constitute the third and fourth documents.[17]

He reported to the *Constellation* and was on duty on that ship until April 15, 1813, when its first cutter proceeding on service with sixteen men under command of Lieutenant Joseph L. Biggs, Master's-mate La Roche and himself was overturned. All were saved except Lieutenant Biggs and Midshipman Phillips whose bodies were never recovered. The letter of Captain Charles Stewart, the commanding officer of the frigate, addressed to Hon. William Jones, Secretary of the Navy, reporting the drowning, is the fifth document.[18]

The descent of Abraham Phillips is of interest. His mother, Hannah Isaacks, was the eldest daughter of Jacob Isaacks.[19] Jacob

[16] "Letters to Officers Ships of War," vol. x, March 28, 1812 to June 30, 1813, p. 192. The volume is found in the Office of Naval Records and Library of the Navy Department at Washington.

[17] The originals appear in a bound volume in the same Office, entitled "Naval Records, Acceptances, N-Y, 1809-1839." In this volume the letters are arranged alphabetically, the pages not being numbered.

[18] It is found in the same Office in "Captains' Letters," volume 2, 1813, page 190.

[19] *Newport Mercury,* August 20, 1785.

Phillips, an Englishman by birth, lived in several places—in San Eustatius, West Indies, in South Carolina, in New York and finally in Charleston, S. C., where he died about 1820 at the residence of his daughter Rebecca (Mrs. Isaiah) Moses. He served in the militia forces of South Carolina during the Revolution. On January 10, 1785, an indent in the amount of £6: 5: 17½ was issued to him by the State of South Carolina for duty done in the militia and for provisions and forage for militia use in 1781.[20]

His grandparents were Jacob Isaacks, the eldest son of Abraham Isaacks, and Rebecca Mears.[21]

Jacob Isaacks, shortly after his father's death in 1743, moved from New York to Newport and for nearly fifty years was a resident of that city, doing business as a ship-broker. He was a member of the Adjunta of the Congregation Yeshuat Israel of Newport and one of the committee that erected its synagogue in 1760. He died at an advanced age in that city in March, 1798.[22]

In the fall of 1776, after the capture of New York, when the State of Rhode Island was preparing to resist the expected British invasion, Jacob Isaacks loaned the State three four-pounders. The subsequent delivery of these guns to John Smith of the Committee of Safety was the subject of a resolution adopted by the Assembly of Rhode Island in September, 1776.[23]

Phillips' paternal great-grandfather and mother were Abraham and Hannah Isaacks of New York. Abraham Isaacks, a native of Emden in Friesland, was naturalized as a citizen of the Colony of New York in 1723 by an act of its General Assembly approved by Governor Burnet, July 6, 1723, and made a freeman of the City of New York on August 6, 1723, during the mayoralty of Robert Walter. He died September 24, 1743, and was buried in the first cemetery of the Congregation Shearith Israel near Chatham Square from which, in 1856, when part of the cemetery was taken for the extension of the Bowery, his remains were removed to the later cemetery of the Congregation on Twenty-first Street near Sixth Avenue, where they now rest. His stone is the eighteenth from the street in the line of removed graves between those of Abraham Nunez Henriques and Esther Rachel Gomez.

[20] Salley's "Stub Entries to Indents issued in payment of Claims against South Carolina growing out of the Revolution," Book R-T, p. 138.

[21] *Publications, Supra,* No. 27, p. 372.

[22] *Newport Mercury,* March 20, 1798.

[23] Colonial Records of Rhode Island," vol. vii, p. 608.

Abraham Phillips is represented collaterally by the descendants of his sisters Fanny, Rebecca and Esther. His eldest sister Rachel who married Michael Myers of Sussex, England, and Charleston, S. C., left no issue. His sister Fanny married Isaac Goldsmith of Charleston. His sister Rebecca married Isaiah Moses of Goose Creek Plantations and Charleston who in 1846 was the leader of those resisting the giving up of the Sephardic *Minhag* of the Congregation Beth Elohim. His sister Esther married Jacob Hendricks of Augusta, Ga. The three sisters left issue and are represented by descendants of Jewish faith residing mostly in South Carolina and Georgia.

HENRY A. ALEXANDER.

JEWS AS A RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY NOT A RACE.

Substantially the full text of the important decision of the Supreme Court of Hungary holding that Jews constitute a religious community, and not a race, was reprinted in *Paix et Droit,* the organ of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle,* October, 1924, as translated from the *Pester Lloyd,* October 10, 1924.

M. J. K.

NECROLOGY.

Isaac Markens.

In the death of Isaac Markens, August 13, 1928, in his eighty-second year, American Jewish history lost an important pioneer writer and investigator, and American history in general sustained a serious loss.

Isaac Markens was born in New York City, October 9, 1846, a son of Elias Markens, linguist and Orientalist, and Rosetta Friedlander. He was educated in the public schools of New York and Richmond, Va., and his love of learning and scholarship must have been innate, as his educational advantages were extremely limited, and he had to become a breadwinner very early in life. He was in the shipping and commission business from 1862 to 1867, was a commercial traveler for the next six years, and then took up stenographic and secretarial work for some years, particularly in connection with important railway interests, especially in their arbitration departments. During 1881-2 he served as assistant manager of the United Press Association, and thereafter joined the staff of several New York newspapers, including the *New York Commercial Advertiser,* 1882-1883, and the *Mail and Express* for the next eleven years, for two of which he was also on the staff of the *New York Star* (1887-9). For many years he was a member of the New York Cotton Exchange.

It was his newspaper interests which led to his preparation of a series of articles for the *Mail and Express* on the "Hebrews in America"; a year or so later, in 1888, he expanded this into a book of the same title, containing more than 350 pages. This was the first comprehensive book dealing with this subject, and he prepared it a few years before our Society was formed. It involved an enormous amount of

patient, industrious research, and he unearthed unaided a mass of interesting and valuable material bearing on the subject so dear to us. He drew upon Judge Daly's "Settlement of the Jews in North America," then still to be found only in an isolated public library in the tomes of the *Jewish Times* of 1872, and upon Hyman Pollock Rosenbach's now rare pamphlet, "Jews of Philadelphia before 1800" (1883). But the material there collated was only fragmentary, and he delved deeply into the published collections of various American historical society and state historical records, commonly even unindexed, and known only to the historical scholar. Valentine's *Manuals of the City of New York,* the New York Colonial records, Westcott's Philadelphia, Arnold's history of Rhode Island, Stevens' Georgia, are but a few of the published volumes he freely drew upon, to say nothing of the uncharted wilderness of our Jewish and daily press. He sought out his own correspondents in all sections of our country and, unaided, induced many to become devotees of the history of their own race and families. Among those who rendered him material assistance in his search—to choose but a few of many whom he conscientiously enumerated in his preface—were Isaac M. Wise, B. Felsenthal, Isaac P. Mendes of Savannah, Ga., Louis Stern of Washington, D. C., Henry Berkowitz, then of Mobile, Ala., Daniel P. Hays, Myer S. Isaacs, Benjamin F. Peixotto, William Salomon, P. J. Joachimsen, William B. Hackenburg, Jacob Ezekiel and Nathaniel Levin, pioneers in the study of American Jewish history, most of whom antedated the activities of Oscar S. Straus and Cyrus Adler, who may be described as the founders of our Society.

His book bears the sub-title "A Series of Historical and Biographical Sketches," indicating the plan of including contemporary descriptive matter. Perhaps this contemporary section of his work is proving most valuable for us to-day, for much of this material he secured from our then leaders in American Jewry, and no other substitute reliable account of

many of the persons and institutions described in his pages is elsewhere obtainable. It is to Mr. Markens' book that we will be compelled chiefly to turn for a comprehensive contemporary account of American Judaism in the period before "The Jewish Encyclopaedia." Even now no other source is available for us for many useful biographies of men prominent in their day in American Jewry.

Unfortunately, Mr. Markens had not enjoyed scientific historical training, and he reproduced in large degree articles penned for a daily newspaper. Had citations or authorities been given for his statements, his work would have been much more useful, and the conscientious historian unfortunately commonly had to rediscover the original authorities for himself, and check up and weigh each statement. Unfortunately, too, his arrangement was not a very happy one, in his subdivisions into "Historical," "In the Army and Navy," "In Commercial Life," "In Public Life," "Biographical," "In the Pulpit," and "Institutions and Associations," which obviously overlap; an incomplete index makes it often difficult to find items. Due to these superficial defects, there is reason to believe that Isaac Markens' work received only a fraction of the attention it really deserved. His work was written in an attractive style, and was prepared conscientiously and painstakingly and with deep love for the cause, and its issuance was attended by the difficulties involved in being one's own publisher.

For over forty years preceding his death, Isaac Markens was also an enthusiastic student of Lincoln and collector of Lincolnia. Of particular Jewish interest and value is his able booklet "Abraham Lincoln and the Jews" issued in 1910, containing sixty pages, reprinted from No. 17 of our *Publications,* and his contribution to Emanuel Hertz's "Abraham Lincoln—The Tribute of the Synagogue" (1927), entitled "Lincoln's Masterpiece," is a perfect gem, and is a reproduction of his admirable study of the Gettysburg address, issued

in 1913. Other of his published Lincoln studies are entitled: "President Lincoln and the Case of John Y. Beall" (1913); "Why President Lincoln Spared Three Lives" (1911), and "Origin of Famous Lincoln Sayings" (1918).

Isaac Markens' powers were not stilled by age, and down to his last days he was preparing a detailed work on the First American, which he left practically ready for publication. He also issued a work in 1917 entitled "Manassas, an Israelite of Colonial Days." He had been a warm friend of Robert T. Lincoln and also aided Ida M. Tarbell in her Lincoln studies. He also frequently contributed to the Jewish and general press. In 1873 he married Rachel Benjamin of Richmond, and had four children, at the home of one of whom in Newark he died at a ripe old age, after having moved from New York shortly before the end came. He was at one time active in Masonic circles, and was a member of this Society almost from its birth. Earnest, conscientious, enthusiastic, kindly, scholarly and modest, we will cherish his memory as a valued and important pioneer worker in American Jewish history.

Max J. Kohler.

Samuel Oppenheim.

On August 11, 1928, our Society lost its recording secretary since 1914, and one of its most valuable members, while American Jewry lost one of its indefatigable workers in the field of American Jewish history.

Samuel Oppenheim was born in New York City, December 2, 1859, the son of Isaac and Melia Oppenheim. He was educated at the College of the City of New York, and also attended the lectures of Professor Dwight at Columbia Law School. He was admitted to the bar in 1885. From 1892 to 1901 he was associated with the office of the late distinguished lawyer, Simon Sterne, and with Hon. Oscar S. Straus. In his profession he held several responsible positions, having been the

secretary of the executive committee of the board of directors of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway Company, 1889-1891, and assistant general counsel to the same company, 1896-1901.

As a citizen he took an interest in all matters relating to public betterment, and in 1895 was appointed by Governor Levi P. Morton, secretary to the commission to recommend changes in methods of legislation. He also served as secretary of the Central Park Improvement Company, 1887-1901.

Besides being the recording secretary of our own Society, he was a member of the New York State Historical Association, the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, the London Shorthand Society, and the Judaeans. He was never married.

Coming of a family of rabbis and talmudists, he was naturally interested in all matters relating to Jewish history, and for the past fifteen years devoted the greater part of his time to minute research in this department, particularly in the history of the Jews in Brazil, the Dutch American colonies, and more especially the early history of the Jews in New York. For this purpose he acquired a knowledge of the old Dutch language, and frequently, at great inconvenience, journeyed to different sections of the state of New York and into neighboring states, wherever he believed records could be found bearing upon his chosen field, and transcribing documents and entries in the most painstaking way. He communicated with custodians of records in the various places relating to his subject, and succeeded in getting most valuable material, particularly from Holland, by inducing the authorities of the Portuguese Jewish community in Amsterdam and elsewhere to transmit photostats of entries and documents theretofore unknown, some of which throw a flood of light on the early Jewish colonists in New York, the various Dutch settlements, and the Dutch occupation of Brazil. He also made valuable discoveries of early records relating to the Jews of Newport,

R. I., and of important data relating to the career of Haym Salomon.

Mr. Oppenheim wrote extensively on his favorite subject. The greater portion of his work is contained in the fifteen *Publications* issued by our Society, numbered 16 to 31. He discovered a great mass of valuable material and his labors added greatly to our knowledge of early American Jewish history.

Among his writings are the following: "The Congressional Debates and Reporters (1889)"; "An Early Jewish Colony in Western Guiana"; "Early History of the Jews in New York"; "The Jews and Masonry in the United States before 1810"; a summary of the Dutch Records at Kingston, N. Y.; and Jacob Barsimson, the first Jewish settler in New Amsterdam.

Our Society has been fortunate to obtain from his family that portion of his library which relates to Jewish history, as well as photostats of material, and what is more important still, his enormous collection of notes made during many years, which will doubtless prove a wonderful storehouse for future writers on the early history of the Jews in connection with Dutch colonization in America.

Samuel Oppenheim was one of the most genial and modest of men, scholarly and retiring, but at all times willing to assist others; a splendid type of American gentleman, whose memory will be cherished by all who had the privilege of knowing him.

Leon Huhner.

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CONSTITUTION.

Name.

I. The name of this Society shall be the "American Jewish Historical Society."

Objects.

II. The objects shall be the collection, preservation, and publication of material having reference to the settlement and history of Jews on the American Continent, and the promotion of the study of Jewish history in general, preferably so far as the same is related to American Jewish history or connected with the causes of emigration from various parts of the world to this continent.

Members.

III. Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by paying five dollars; and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of five dollars.

On payment of one hundred dollars, any person may become a life member exempt from fees.

Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a patron of the Society by paying the sum of fifty dollars a year in fees; and transfers, on request, may be made from regular membership to the class of patrons. Patrons shall have all the rights and privileges of members.

Persons may be elected as honorary members and be exempt from the payment of fees; but no honorary member shall be elected except by the unanimous vote of the Executive Council.

Persons approved by the Executive Council may be elected as corresponding members, and be exempt from the payment of fees.

Any member who shall have neglected or omitted to pay his annual dues for three successive years shall, on notice to him from the Treasurer of that fact and of this provision, *ipso facto* cease to be a member of this Society unless within one month after said notice he pays all of his dues in arrears or shall be excused therefrom by the Executive Council of the Society, which is hereby authorized on proper grounds to remit said dues.

Officers.

IV. The officers shall be a President, four or more Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, a Curator, and an Executive Council, consisting of the foregoing officers and of twelve other members elected by the Society, with the ex-presidents of the Society. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting of the Society. The additional members of the Executive Council shall be elected as provided in and by Section 3 of Article II of the By-Laws of the Society.

Council.

V. The Executive Council shall have charge of the general interests of the Society, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

Amendments.

VI. This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Council.

BY-LAWS.

Article I.

MEMBERS.

Section 1. The dues of members of the Society, including those elected between the 1st day of October and the 1st day of April in a fiscal year, shall be payable annually on the 1st day of October for said fiscal year in advance. Those joining as members between the 1st day of April and the 1st day of October in a fiscal year shall at such time pay dues only for the current half-year, proportionately, and thereafter shall pay full yearly dues in advance on the 1st day of October in each year.

Section 2. The fiscal year shall extend and include from the 1st day of October to the 30th day of September next ensuing in each calendar year.

Section 3. The President and the Corresponding Secretary, whenever the Society or its Executive Council is not in session, shall have the power to act upon applications for membership in the Society.

Section 4. Members whose dues are more than one year in arrear on the 1st day of October, at the opening of a new fiscal year, shall not be entitled to receive such publications as the Society may thereafter issue until and unless such dues in arrears shall have been fully liquidated.

Article II.

OFFICERS, ETC.

Section 1. The term for which officers of the Society shall be chosen is one year and until their successors shall have been duly elected and qualified.

Section 2. Vacancies occurring in the term of any officer of the Society shall be filled by the vote of a majority of the members of the Executive Council, present at any meeting thereof, for the remainder of said term.

Section 3. The term for which additional members of the Executive Council of the Society shall be chosen is three years and until

their successors shall have been duly elected and qualified. At the twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Society twelve additional members of the Executive Council shall be chosen, of whom four shall hold office as such for one year, four for two years, and four for three years, in accordance with the action of the Society at such annual meeting. The successors of each of said additional members of the Executive Council shall thereafter hold office as hereinbefore first provided.

Section 4. Vacancies occurring in the term of any additional member of the Executive Council of the Society shall be filled, until the annual meeting of the Society thereafter, by the vote of a majority of the members of the Executive Council, present at any meeting thereof. At the annual meeting of the Society thereafter, such vacancies shall be filled by election by the Society for the remainder of said original term.

Section 5. Officers of the Society and additional members of the Executive Council, who have served as such for at least twenty-five consecutive years, may be chosen honorary members of the Executive Council of the Society by vote of the members thereof at any stated meeting of the Executive Council.

Article III.

DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

Section 1. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and the Executive Council, fix the time and place for holding the meetings of the latter, appoint members of all committees when not named in resolutions, fill vacancies therein, and add to the membership thereof when requested to do so by the chairmen thereof. He shall have a general supervision of the Society and be *ex officio* a member of all committees.

Section 2. In case of the death, resignation or inability of the President to perform his duties, his functions and powers shall devolve upon the Vice-Presidents in the order of seniority respectively. If the President and all the Vice-Presidents shall be absent from any meeting of the Society or its Executive Council, a chairman *pro tempore* shall be chosen for such meeting by the members present thereat.

Section 3. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, under the direction of the President. He shall have charge of the Seal, Charter, Constitution, By-Laws

and records of the Society and certify or attest all instruments from the Society. He shall issue all notices of meetings, and notify all members of their election and of such other matters as may be directed by the Society, the Executive Council or the President. He shall receive, duly file and safely keep all papers, reports and documents, other than those appertaining to the Treasurer and the Curator, belonging to the Society, and at each meeting of the Society or the Executive Council report such letters and communications, as far as practicable, as he may have received since the time of his previous report. He shall distribute the minutes of meetings of the Executive Council among the members thereof within two weeks after each meeting has been held, and generally perform such other duties for the Society's business and development as may be necessary, proper and requisite.

Section 4. The Recording Secretary shall keep fair and accurate records of the minutes of each meeting of the Society and its Executive Council, and promptly transmit the same, after each has adjourned, to the Corresponding Secretary.

Section 5. The Treasurer shall receive, collect and hold subject to the order of the Executive Council all moneys, securities and other valuable papers of the Society, deposit all moneys in one or more banks or trust companies in the City of New York or elsewhere, approved by the Executive Council, pay all bills when the same are accompanied by vouchers drawn, signed and approved by the President and the Corresponding Secretary jointly, and render a financial report at each regular meeting of the Society and each meeting of the Executive Council. On the 1st day of April and the 1st day of October in each fiscal year he shall send bills for unpaid dues to the members of the Society, and shall notify the Corresponding Secretary of all changes and terminations in the membership of the Society. He shall notify the Corresponding Secretary on the 1st days of March and November in each fiscal year of all the members who on such dates shall be in arrears for dues, and the amounts of such arrearages.

Section 6. The Curator, under the direction of the Executive Council, shall have charge and superintendence of the library and collections of the Society, and the care and arrangement of the books, manuscripts and other articles belonging to the Society. He shall cause to be prepared and kept to date a proper catalogue and list of the same, and shall acknowledge the receipt of accessions donated to the Society. He shall expend in the purchase of

books and other articles, and for their safekeeping and preservation, such sums of money, with the approbation of the Executive Council or the President, as shall from time to time be appropriated for the purpose, and render proper vouchers therefor to the Executive Council. He shall make a full report, at each regular annual meeting of the Society, on the condition and progress of the library and the collections of the Society.

Article IV.

MEETINGS.

Section 1. There shall be held not less than two stated meetings of the Executive Council in each fiscal year. Written notice thereof shall be sent to each member of the Executive Council at least two weeks in advance thereof.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Executive Council shall be called upon the written request of at least five members thereof.

Section 3. Six members of the Executive Council shall be the requisite number for a quorum to transact business at any meeting thereof.

Section 4. Fifteen members of the Society shall be the requisite number for a quorum to transact business at any meeting thereof.

Section 5. Nothing herein contained shall operate to prevent the Society or its Executive Council from voting upon any proposition laid before either or both by mail.

Article V.

COMMITTEES.

Section 1. The following standing committees, namely: on publication, finance, and audit, shall be appointed by the President at the regular annual meeting of the Society, or within thirty days after the termination thereof, to hold office until their successors are appointed.

Section 2. The committee on publication shall consist of not less than three nor more than five members, who must be officers of the Society or additional members of its Executive Council. It shall have charge of preparing, editing and issuing the publications of the Society, and has the authority by delegation from the Executive Council to determine what papers shall be published.

Section 3. The committee on finance shall consist of at least three members, of whom the Treasurer shall be one, all of whom shall be members of the Executive Council. It shall have charge of the investments of the Society, with full power to make or alter any such in its discretion, and shall supervise and foster the permanent fund of the Society. Investments of the funds of the Society shall be limited to such as are lawful for savings banks and trustees in the State of New York, pursuant to the laws thereof made and provided from time to time.

Section 4. The committee on audit shall consist of two members. Its duty shall be to audit and examine the Treasurer's accounts and the vouchers thereunto appertaining and to report the result of its examination to the President or the Executive Council.

Section 5. A special committee on local arrangements shall be appointed to consist of not less than three nor more than five members of the Society, preferably residing in the locality at which each annual meeting of the Society takes place. Its duty shall be to care for and supervise all the details of the local arrangements for such annual meeting, including the edifice in which the same shall be held.

Section 6. A special committee on nominations shall be appointed to consist of not less than two nor more than five members of the Society, and no candidate for office shall be debarred therefrom by reason of his membership of this committee. Its duty shall be to report a list of nominees as officers and additional members of the Executive Council of the Society for election at the annual meetings of the Society.

Section 7. The right to make additional nominations from the floor at the annual meetings of the Society on the part of any duly-qualified member thereof is not abridged in any way by the provisions of Section 6 hereof.

Section 8. A special committee on programme shall be appointed to consist of three members, of whom the Corresponding Secretary shall be one. Its duty shall be to prepare and suitably print and distribute the programme of each annual meeting of the Society. It shall endeavor to secure appropriate publicity therefor, and shall have the right to determine the fitness and availability of papers to be submitted at such annual meetings, and the determination of the time to be allotted to each for presentation thereat.

Section 9. Special committees shall be appointed by the President pursuant to resolution of the Society or its Executive Council.

Article VI.

FUNDS.

Section 1. The permanent fund of the Society shall consist of the donations or bequests made to it, the payments received from members for life, and the interest and accumulations of the same. It shall not be drawn against except by and with the approval of the Executive Council by a formal vote to that end. The permanent fund shall be kept and used primarily to further research work in which the Society as such may be interested.

Section 2. The President shall have power at any time to authorize the payment of a sum or sums, not exceeding fifty dollars in the aggregate, in a single instance, out of the general fund of the Society, for the purpose of subventioning research work of any nature approved by him.

Section 3. The publication fund of the Society, as at present constituted, shall be employed so far as possible to defray the cost of the publications issued by the Society. Payments out of this fund shall be made by the Treasurer upon vouchers signed by the President and the Corresponding Secretary jointly.

Section 4. The general fund of the Society shall be employed to defray the current running expenses of the Society. Payments out of this fund shall be made by the Treasurer upon vouchers signed by the President and the Corresponding Secretary jointly.

Article VII.

SEAL.

Section 1. The seal of the Society shall consist of the following design: In the field a scroll on the face of which appear the words (in Hebrew), זכר ימות עולם, and on the circumference, American Jewish Historical Society.

Article VIII.

AMENDMENTS.

Section 1. These by-laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present at any annual meeting of the Society, notice of such amendment having been given in the printed programme of such meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Council.

Section 2. To entitle a proposed amendment to these by-laws to be included in the programme of an annual meeting of the Society, it must be formulated in writing, signed by not less than five members of the Society, communicated to the Corresponding Secretary not less than sixty days before the date of the annual meeting of the Society at which action thereon is contemplated, and notified to the members of the Society not less than ten days before the annual meeting thereof.

LIST OF MEMBERS.[1]

Corresponding Members.

Elkan N. Adler, 46 & 47 London Wall, E. C., London, England.
Prof. George Lincoln Burr, President White Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
William Vincent Byars, Temple Building, St. Louis, Mo.
G. R. G. Conway, Apartado 490, Mexico, D. F., Mexico.
Frank Cundall, F. S. A., Institute of Jamaica, Kingston, Jamaica, B. W. I.
Dr. A. Freimann, Stadtbibliothek, Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany.
Rev. Dr. Moses Gaster, Haham, 193 Maida Vale, W., London, England.
Dr. Max Grunwald, II Ferdinandstrasse 23, Vienna, Austria.
J. M. Hillesum, care Rosenthal Library, University, Amsterdam, Holland.
Archer M. Huntington, 1 E. 89th Street, New York.
Albert M. Hyamson, P. O. Box 437, Jerusalem, Palestine.
Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
Grand Rabbin Israël Lévi, 54 Rue La Bruyère, Paris, France.
Prof. Raphaël Georges Levy, 3 Rue de Noisiel, 16e, Paris, France.
Rev. S. Levy, New Synagogue, Egerton Road, Stamford Hill, N., London, England.
Prof. John Bach McMaster, 2109 De Lancey Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
J. T. Medina, Santiago, Chile.
Claude G. Montefiore, 42 Portman Square, W. 1, London, England.
Prof. George Foot Moore, 3 Divinity Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.
J. S. da Silva Rosa, Port. Isr. Seminarium Ets Haim, J. D. Meijerplein 5, Amsterdam, Holland.
Dr. Cecil Roth, 65c Compayne Gardens, N. W. 6, London, England.
Sigmund Seeligmann, Nic. Witsenstraat 7, Amsterdam, Holland.
Prof. Werner Sombart, Handelshochschule, Berlin-Charlottenburg, 5, Germany.
Rev. Dr. H. P. Stokes, St. Paul's Vicarage, Cambridge, England.

[1] This list is corrected to January 15, 1931. Kindly notify the corresponding secretary of all errors and changes therein.

Patrons.

Louis Bamberger, Executive Offices, L. Bamberger & Co., Newark, N. J.
Lee M. Friedman, 30 State Street, Boston, Mass.
Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, 1320 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, 57 State Street, Albany, N. Y.
Benjamin Winter, 67 E. 59th Street, New York.

Life Members.

James H. Hyde, 67 Bould. Lannes, 16e, Paris, France.
Louis Samter Levy, 120 Broadway, New York.
Jacob D. Lit, 1014 Packard Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
Grover Magnin, care Magnin & Co., San Francisco, Cal.
Newport Historical Society, Newport, R. I.
Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, 23 W. 73d Street, New York.

Members.

A.

Dr. Robert Abrahams, 277 West End Avenue, New York.
Dr. Cyrus Adler, 2041 N. Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. Cyrus Adler, 2041 N. Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Benjamin Alexander, 1007 Land Title Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
Henry A. Alexander, Fourth National Bank Building, Atlanta, Ga.
Sidney K. Allman, Jenkintown, Pa.
Ben. Altheimer, care Ladenburg, Thalmann & Co., 25 Broad Street, New York.
Frank Altschul, 120 Broadway, New York.
Philip Werner Amram, Packard Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
N. L. Amster, 956 Fifth Avenue, New York.
Joseph Lyon Andrews, 1349 Lexington Avenue, New York.
Mrs. Joseph Mayor Asher, 1349 Lexington Avenue, New York.
Dr. Dora Askowith, 20 W. 84th Street, New York.

B.

Frank H. Bachman, Rydal, Pa.
Louis Baer, 196 Summer Street, Boston, Mass.,
Prof. Salo Baron, Columbia University, New York.
Isidor Baumgart, 928 Broadway, New York.

Mrs. A. G. Becker, 100 S. LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
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Bernard Benfield, 704 Kohl Building, San Francisco, Cal.
Miss Ruth L. Benjamin, 145 W. 55th Street, New York.
Jacob S. Berliner, 10 W. 86th Street, New York.
Albert Berney, care Isaac Hamburger & Sons, Baltimore and Hanover Streets, Baltimore, Md.
Henry J. Bernheim, 44 W. 77th Street, New York.
Isaac W. Bernheim, 825 York Street, Denver, Colo.
Dr. C. S. Bernheimer, 98 Riverside Drive, New York.
Miss Judith Bernstein, 537 W. 121st Street, New York.
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Hart Blumenthal, Rittenhouse Plaza, 19th and Walnut Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.
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A. M. Burd, 112-120 N. 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Joseph L. Buttenwieser, 200 Fifth Avenue, New York.

C.

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Hon. Emanuel Celler, 32 Court Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Dr. A. J. Cohen, 1630 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Hon. Alfred M. Cohen, 9 W. 4th Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Rev. Dr. Henry Cohen, 1920 Broadway, Galveston, Texas.
Moise K. Cohen, 6 W. 77th Street, New York.
Prof. Samuel S. Cohon, 538 Howell Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.
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G. Herbert Cone, Court of Appeals, Albany, N. Y.
Mrs. Moses H. Cone, 1800 Eutaw Place, Baltimore, Md.
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D.

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Gabriel Davidson, 301 E. 14th Street, New York.
Prof. Israel Davidson, 92 Morningside Avenue, New York.
Rabbi Max D. Davidson, 118 State Street, Perth Amboy, N. J.
James Davis, 1400 Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Dr. Joseph B. DeLee, 426 E. 51st Street, Chicago, Ill.
Julius Bueno de Mesquita, 168 W. 86th Street, New York.
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E.

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